

INDIA

AND

CHRISTIAN OPPORTUNITY

BY

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NEW YORK
STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

1904

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the twenty-seventh in a series of text books prepared primarily for the use of voluntary mission study classes in the institutions for higher learning of the United States and Canada. This fact will account for certain typographical peculiarities and also for the material presented. A correspondence, extending over eight years, with leaders of such classes in more than six hundred institutions has determined the selection of a larger proportion of general information relating to the geography, ethnography, and religions of India than appears in the ordinary volume on that country. At the same time the facts that the Empire is occupied by toward a hundred Protestant missionary societies, representing various branches of the Church, and that the students enrolled in the classes also belong to some fifty denominations, have prevented more than the merest allusion to the work of any given society or Church. The reader must look elsewhere for particulars concerning the activities of his own society, if more information is desired than is found in the Appendixes.

The author is under obligations to the literature referred to in the footnotes and in the brief bibliography of Appendix A, as well as to the larger number of volumes which he has made use of in a less direct way.

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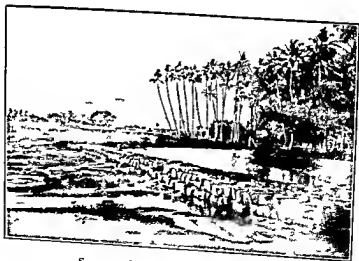
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I

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

I NAMES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

1 *Names* — Our word India has suffered at the hands of many transmitters¹ Starting from the name of the river which so impressed the early immigrants from the Northwest with its size that they called it Sindhus, from the root meaning "to flow," the name given the ocean — the modern Indus — the initial letter became later an aspirate, and hence in Persian it was written *Hendu* The Greeks dropped both sibilant and aspirate and called the river, 'Ινδός, the land along its banks 'Ινδική, and its people 'Ινδοί. The Romans knew the country as India "The Persian term Hindustan, that is, 'Land of the Hindus,' is merely another form of the old name of India . . . Others have identified India with the god Indra, whose arm directs the course of the moon in the heavens, implying that Hindustan is pre eminently the 'Sub lunar World' It also bears many poetic names, such as Sudarçana or 'Fair to look upon', Bharata varcha [varsha], or the fertile land,² 'The Lotus Flower', Jambu dvīpa [Jambu dwīpa], from the *Eugenia Jambolana*, a beautiful species of myrtle, one of which plants is described in the Mahabharata as growing on a mountain of the Himalayas, 'holy,

¹ Yule and Burnell, *Hobson Jobson* pp 339 330, Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* p 823

² A more correct account of this name is that given by Marshman in the first volume of his *History of India* who says that it is derived from King Bharat, one of the earliest and most renowned of its rulers

everlasting, heaven kissing, laden with fruits which fall crushing to the earth when their juice falls in a broad stream' The expressions *Arya varta*, *Arya bhumi*, *Arya deça*, that is, 'Land, region, or domain of the Aryas,' given to the country by the conquering race are properly applicable only to the parts occupied by the Aryas"

2 *Content of the Term, India* — From the Book of Esther and Herodotus down through the Dark Ages — whose scholars divided the world into three parts, "Europe, Africa and India" — even to 1492, when the great Admiral erroneously supposed the aborigines of America to be the natives of India, there was great uncertainty as to the content of that term The Old Testament writers apparently regarded it as indicating what Herodotus thus describes "Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand Indeed of all the inhabitants of *Asia* concerning whom anything is known the Indians dwell nearest to the east and the rising of the sun"¹ Ptolemy divided the country into two parts, India within the Ganges and India beyond the Ganges Later came the distinctions of Greater and Lesser India, and there was even a threefold division which gave us the phrase, "the Indies" By an extension of the term² it later included Arabia and Ethiopia, together with the mediæval usage already noted In this volume the word indicates Asia's southern central peninsula, with the adjacent country of Burma, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, together with those small islets southwest of India, and the more or less independent countries of Baluchistan, part of Afghanistan, and those northern dependencies lying between Tibet and India Little will be said, however, about those regions lying outside India proper and Burma, since scarcely any missionary work is doing in those sections

¹ *Reclus Asia* vol. iii p. 14

² Yule and Burnell *Hobson Jobson* p. 331

³ *Reclus Asia* vol. iii p. 1

II GENERAL VIEW

I. *Place Among the Nations* — Nearly every consideration likely to evoke and sustain interest is found in this Empire. To the man desiring to see the extension of commerce and the material development of races, it is quite as attractive as it is to the student of Christian civilization and missionary effort.

A Wonderful Antiquity — Robed in the shadowy garments of an age antecedent to that in which our common Aryan family emigrated from the ancestral home, this great land stands forth in the earliest historic times an Oriental Minerva, having in her possession the rudiments of art and science and the cruder gifts of war and handicraft. Not only does ancient India exhibit a remarkable civilization, but that remote time was the Golden Age of her religious life. The Himalayas, whose highest peaks far over-top Pelion and Ossa, piled upon Olympus itself, are alive with deities, while in the fertile river plains below the ministers of religion give utterance to those Vedic hymns which to day are redolent with the fragrance of the world's morning.

Later Thought and Labor — But not alone does primitive India attract the men of our day. Through the centuries from Solomon's time to the present this land has ministered to the world through the products of its brain and its brawn. This "Desire of the Nations" has attracted slowly-moving caravans and tempest-tossed ships from the West by its far-famed treasures. Old and cultured China, with a religion that was mainly ethical and devoid of future hope, sent imperial embassies and pious pilgrims across mountain and sea to find in Gangetic plains a religion pulsating with human life and brotherhood, and boasting of a better light for the soul that peers anxiously into hopeless cons of the future. The

Arab of the Middle Ages, eager for new knowledge, slaked his thirst at Indian springs and carried back to ignorant Europe the cup of Eastern learning. When once the Cape was rounded, all the Western nations took ship for India and entered upon those centuries of intrigue, diplomatic struggles, and open wars, which culminated in the no less strenuous battles of a benevolent occupation by the world's most wise and Christian colonizing power. To-day Britain's fairest and most prized possession is India, and to its shores the fleets of every nation resort for purposes of trade, or to carry thither hosts of fascinated travelers.

Center of Christian Interest — And India is also a center toward which the Christian Church looks with deepest interest. Christians of every name turn toward this Empire, — containing the largest number of missionaries devoted to the Christianization of any mission country, — with earnest longings and supplications, and send thither the no less necessary gifts of treasure and consecrated young life.

2 *General Features — Areas* — Were one in mid-air to look down upon this continental mass which juts southward into the Indian Ocean, buttressed on the east by its Burman extension and on the west by the Afghan and Baluchi frontier, his eye would scan a territory measuring some 2,000 miles from north to south and about 2,500 miles in its largest dimension, — from Quetta in the northwest to the southernmost point of Burma. This area of 1,559,603 square miles equals more than six tenths of the United States minus Alaska, and would more than cover the region east of the Rocky Mountains. If its twenty-nine degrees of latitude and thirty-four degrees of longitude were placed on corresponding parallels and meridians in America, its northern point would lie upon the northernmost border of Texas, Quetta in Baluchistan would nearly coincide with the northwestern corner of

Mexico, Burma's easternmost city of any size, Bhamo, would lie on the southern point of Florida, and Comorin, India's southernmost cape, would be in the Pacific, 2,000 miles west of Panama.

Scenery — This extensive country, shaped like a lion's head and neck with the face toward the West, contains every variety of scenery. The French geographer, É. Reclus, thus pictures North India with his graphic pencil: "In East India the physical features of nature are in many respects presented in their grandest aspect. The plains watered by the Indus and Ganges are encircled northwards by the loftiest mountains on the globe, nor is the contrast between their glittering snowy peaks and the unbroken sea of verdure clothing their lower slopes elsewhere developed on such a vast scale. North of the main range the Tibetan plateaux present interminable solitudes destitute of water and vegetation except in the deeper depressions, in which are gathered the mountain torrents, and where shelter is afforded to men and plants. But towards the south the land falls in successive terraces down to rich and well watered plains abounding in animal and vegetable life. Within the highlands themselves extensive valleys are developed like that of Kashmir, which in the popular fancy have been converted into earthly paradises inhabited by mankind during the Golden Age. These delightful uplands are in truth almost unrivaled for their healthy climate and fertile soil, their lovely landscapes reflected in limpid lakes and running waters, their amphitheatres of snowy ranges, and canopy of bright azure skies."¹ In the river valleys and especially in the Deccan, the scenery is widely different from that above described. Save in the mountainous sections, one may travel for hundreds of miles over regions as flat as a Western prairie, while barrenness and death are the dominant impressions except during the rains.

¹ Reclus *Asia* vol. iii., p. 2

III INDIA'S FOUR GREAT REGIONS

1 *General Characterization* — The late Sir William Hunter thus characterizes the first three of these regions "The first, or the Himalayan, lies for the most part beyond the British frontier, but a knowledge of it supplies the key to the climatic and social conditions of India. The second region, or the river plains in the North, formed the theater of the ancient race movements which shaped the civilization and political destinies of the whole Indian peninsula. The third region, or the triangular table land in the South, has a character quite distinct from either of the other two divisions, and a population which is now working out a separate development of its own. Broadly speaking, the Himalayas are peopled by Turanian tribes, although to a large extent ruled by Aryan immigrants. The great river plains of Bengal are still the possession of the Indo Aryan race. The triangular table land has formed an arena for a long struggle between the Aryan civilization from the North, and what is known as the Dravidian stock in the South."¹

2 *The Deccan — Boundaries* — The Western traveler on approaching India usually first sees the triangular table land known as the Deccan, "The South," which is the home of about two fifths of India's inhabitants. It is hemmed in on every side by mountains, the Vindhya on the north having as their eastern and western redoubts two of the sacred peaks of the Jains, the western one, Mt. Abu, rising like an island out of the Rajputana plain and abounding in temples of exquisite workmanship. These vast masses of forests, ridges, and peaks were for centuries a formidable barrier between dwellers in the North and South, and this has always proved a main difficulty in welding the two sections into a single whole. The East-

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire*, p. 141

ern and Western Ghats complete the triangle. Those facing the Bay of Bengal average only about half the height of the Western Ghats, and in many places they recede in detached spurs far back from the Indian Ocean. The Western Ghats on the contrary are true to their name, — "landing stairs," — as they closely skirt the coast from which they rise abruptly, often in magnificent precipices and headlands. "The physical geography and the political destiny of the two sides of the Indian peninsula have been determined by the characteristics of the mountain ranges on either coast. On the east, the Madras country is comparatively open, and was always accessible to the spread of civilization. On the east, therefore, the ancient dynasties of Southern India fixed their capitals. Along the west, only a narrow strip of lowland intervenes between the barrier range and the Bombay seaboard. This western tract long remained apart from the civilization of the eastern coast. To our own day, one of its ruling races, the Nairs, retains land tenures and social customs, such as polyandry, which mark a much ruder stage of human advancement than Hinduism, and which in other parts of India only linger among isolated hill tribes."

The Deccan Interior — The interior of the Deccan plateau is checkered with mountains and hills. Here the rich black soil has in many sections induced inhabitants to drive back the jungle into the hilly recesses, and were it not for the liability to drought, which is only partially provided against by the irrigation system, Southern India would be far more densely populated than it now is. The wooded stretches lend picturesqueness to the better watered portions of the table land, as witness the description of the Mysore forest quoted by Bishop Hurst. "Trees of the largest size stand thickly together over miles, their trunks entwined with creepers of huge dimensions, their massive arms decked with a thousand bright blossoming orchids

Birds of rare plumage flit from bough to bough, from the thick woods, which abruptly terminate on verdant swards. Bison issue forth in the early morn and afternoon to browse on the rich herbage, while large herds of elk pass rapidly across the hill-sides, packs of wild dogs cross the path, hunting in company, and the tiger is not far off, for the warning boom of the great langur monkey is heard from the lofty trees. The view from the head of the descent to the Falls of Gersoppa is one of the finest pieces of scenery in the world."

3 *River Plains* — The Indo Gangetic Plain, some 1,500 miles in length from east to west, is the seat of India's densest populations. It lies north of the Deccan, between it and the Himalayan region. Except in the central western section streams are as characteristic of the plain region as their absence is of the most of the Deccan. The Indian peasant is enamored of their beneficent presence and exhibits his appreciation by such names as "Streak of Gold," "Glancing Waters," "Sinless One," "Forest Hope," and "Lord of Strength." So fertile and well-watered are the plains that two or three harvests are gathered each year in the more favored sections.

Scenery — The scenery in the Gangetic region of India can be imagined from this unduly colored quotation: "Along the upper and middle courses of the Bengal rivers, the country rises gently from their banks in fertile undulations, dotted with mud villages and adorned with noble trees. Mango groves scent the air with their blossom in spring, and yield their abundant fruit in summer. The spreading banyan, with its colonnades of hanging roots, the stately pipal, with its green masses of foliage, the wild cotton tree, glowing while still leafless with heavy crimson flowers, the tall daintily shaped feathery leaved tamarind, and the quick growing babul rear their heads above the crop fields. As the rivers approach the coast

the palm trees take possession of the scene. The ordinary landscape in the delta is a flat stretch of rice fields fringed around with an evergreen border of bamboos cocoanuts date trees areca and other coronetted palms. This densely peopled tract seems at first sight bare of villages for each hamlet is hidden away amid its own grove of plantains and wealth giving trees. The above description is antipodal of course to what might be said of the arid regions of the West especially the Desert of Thar where however scarcely any missionary work is done.

Resulting Advantages — The result of such a physical endowment upon the Indo-Gangetic Plain has been most striking. The northern basin generally level and fertilized by numerous navigable waters naturally became the center of culture for all the surrounding nations. These productive plains were soon occupied by numerous agricultural settlements here were founded many flourishing trade marts here the industries were very rapidly developed here civilization achieved some of its greatest triumphs. But here also successive invasions led to the most violent conflicts and brought about a constant intermingling of races. Forming a vast basin surrounded on all sides by more elevated lands the Indo Gangetic plain like that of Northern Italy was necessarily exposed from the first to the inroads of all the neighboring peoples. On the west the Afghans and even invaders from beyond the Hindu Kush found broad openings in the encircling ranges leading down to those rich plains and magnificent cities which ever overflowed with treasures during each short interval of peace. On the north the warlike highland populations were separated only by a narrow marshy zone from the cultivators of the plains. On the east also the wild tribes of the hills through which the Brahmaputra escapes seawards beheld an inviting and easily accessible

field of plunder spread out before them. For ages the inroads were incessantly renewed, now from one point, now from another, while these hostile incursions at times developed into vast migrations of whole races.

Plain vs Deccan Population — "Thus it was that throughout the historic period the populations of the Indus and Gangetic plains were, till recently, subject to constant fluctuations. Hence the primeval races and languages are now no longer found in these regions that have been so frequently wasted by fire and sword, whereas the densely wooded uplands and valleys of Southern India have preserved pure from foreign contact many communities which still retain the same physique, speech, and habits of two thousand or three thousand years ago. But as the hives became too crowded, these communities necessarily swarmed abroad, and their migrations, whether warlike or peaceful, were naturally attracted to the fair cities of the plains, whose glittering domes were visible."¹

4 *Himalayan Region* — The region lying to the north of the Indo Gangetic Plain is mountainous. Like a vast scimitar with its cutting edge turned southward, the Himalayas, the loftiest chain in the world, impend over India. It is really a double range, the southern chain rising rapidly to a height of nearly six miles above the sea and culminating in Mt Everest, the highest peak yet measured. Its northern slope descends to an elevation of some 13 000 feet and then rises again in a second line of peaks. These mountain masses present one of the most sublime panoramas in the world. "Above the enormous base of the green or rocky Alps rise other heights, which are always white, except when gilded by the sun or darkened by the falling shadows, and towering above these masses of snow clad pyramids appear the inaccessible topmost summits, whence, should they ever be ascended, a prospect will be commanded of the Tibetan plateaux, of the

¹ Reclus, *Asia* vol. iii., p. 24

plains of India, of the valleys watered by the Tsanbo [Tsan pu], Ganges and Jamna [Jumna]''

Value to India — The part which this region has played in India's history is two-fold. For ages the Himalayas have proven an insurmountable wall of defence from northern enemies. They have also acted as a colossal condenser to turn back to the plains the fertilizing moisture hurled against their rugged sides by moisture-bearing monsoons. The southern slopes of the Himalayas receive the highest measured rainfalls in the world, while the inner ranges on the north store up snow, thus providing a water supply for the rainless season.

5 *Burma—Lower* — Burma constitutes the easternmost and largest province of the Indian Empire. Its southern section is the most populous. In *Arakan* the mountains, "clothed to their summits with the rich forest vegetation, rise in a succession of parallel ridges from the plains to a height of from 5 000 to 6 000 feet. The plains themselves are of small extent, being mostly either limited by the offshoots of the lower coast ranges, or else hemmed in by wooded tracts which on the coast consist exclusively of mango trees. The lowlands are indented by countless streams from the hills, while the spring tides flood extensive low lying districts, forming a labyrinth of channels and back waters. These water courses take the place of highways serving as a means of rapid intercourse between the towns and villages". In *Pegu* further south, the land is low, sandy or muddy, and during the rainy season is exposed to destructive floods. It is however, well adapted to the cultivation of rice, which is here produced in great abundance. *Tenasserim*, Burma's southernmost tongue of land, is fringed along its entire length by a vast number of islands which are hilly and often densely wooded with valuable trees.

¹ Reclus *Asia* vol. 1 p. 8.

² St. John's *Compendium of Geography Asia* vol. II pp. 32-33

2 *Forests* — The forests of India are under the care of the Government and are being conserved and extended. The aristocracy of the Indian forests, with the teak as king, includes the sal, the deodar, and the oak and chestnut of temperate climes. The more precious sandalwood is limited to portions of the Deccan. The great enemy of timber is nomadic cultivation. A tribe burns down a patch of forest, and with little or no culture the soil is planted with the seeds. Heat and rains and a thick bed of ashes cause it to yield large crops with the minimum of labor. In two or three years the people move on to a new spot, leaving the denuded forests to quick jungle growths. Where the mountain slopes are thus cleared the rains sweep away the soil, leaving the mountain side nearly barren.

3 *Minerals, Metals, Gems* — The mineral resources of India are far less valuable than its agricultural wealth. Though the Malabar Coast is by many identified with King Solomon's Ophir, the precious metals are present in very limited quantities. Iron and copper are fairly abundant and a very ashy coal is mined in sufficient quantities to supply the railways. Despite Golconda's fame in literature, diamonds are found in the central regions in very small quantities, though in the sixteenth century Golcondan lapidaries were famed because of their skill in cutting and polishing diamonds. The jade and ruby mines of Burma are a more considerable source of wealth. On the Madura Coast, and in the Gulf of Cambay, there are pearl fisheries of inferior importance.

4 *Fauna* — The fauna of India is an asset of mingled value and loss. The domestic animals of the Occident are all here, though sometimes in different varieties. Oxen and buffaloes do most of the heavy work of agriculture. Milk and butter are largely used. Elephants, with the exception of those in Burma, are rarely employed, save for military and hunting purposes. Where fish are abundant,

they constitute a large part of the dietary of the poorer classes

Animal Pests — Lions, tigers,—including the dreaded man eaters, specimens of which have been known to devour eighty persons annually,—leopards, wolves, bears, the rhinoceros, and bison, and venomous snakes, are the delight of the hunter, or the bane of the multitude. India is a paradise of insects, which are omnipresent and extremely active, owing to the tropical heat and abundant rains in certain sections. Some of them are great pests, especially the innumerable mosquitoes and ants of most destructive habits, while others are very showy, having large wings of surpassing brilliancy.

5 *Rivers a Resource* — The Indus and its feeder, the Sutlej, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and the Irawadi are a natural resource of another sort. Flowing from perennial springs through broad valleys, they have for ages been the great carriers and travel routes of the North. To-day railways have taken away most of the passenger traffic, but, except on the Irawadi, they are still important agents in transportation. Another invaluable function which they will always perform is that of furnishing the water for ever extending irrigation schemes. In the case of one of them the holy "Mother Ganga," a resource far more valuable than guano beds, is found in the vast amount of fertilizing mud which by its overflows is carried far and wide over large sections of Bengal. Some 355 000,000 tons of silt are thus brought down annually,—an amount five times as large as that deposited by the Mississippi,—and thus each year its delta is being extended southward, as well as increased in elevation above the sea. The work thus done during the rainy season by the Ganges "may be realized if we suppose that a daily succession of fleets, each of 2 000 great ships sailed down the river during the four months and that each ship of the daily 2 000 vessels deposited a freight of 1,400 tons of mud every morning

into the estuary'¹ Deccan rivers are of little importance for transportation and fertilizing purposes. Even the Narbada and Godavari are not extensively navigable owing to their obstruction by rapids.

V CLIMATIC FEATURES

1 *Temperature* — The temperature of India varies greatly, mainly because of the wide diversity in altitude, and in distance from the sea. Along the coasts it is high but equable throughout the year, and the air is charged with moisture. Inland the plateaux show a wider annual range and are dry and hot during one part of the year, dry and cold during another with a comparatively short interval of warm wet weather. Except along the coasts therefore, the mean annual temperature is a meteorological figure of little significance in the life of the people and the extreme range between the mean of the warmest and of the coldest month is a factor of importance. This range in upper Sindh is as great as 30° F in the year in the Panjab, 27°, and in the Dekkan 25° whilst in Calcutta it is but 16°, falling along the west coast to 12°.²

2 *Rainfall* — In most of India rain depends upon the monsoons especially that of the summer blowing from the southwest. The annual precipitation varies between the two extremes of a 'record' fall of 1861 in Assam amounting to sixty seven feet one inch and four and one third inches at one of the Sind stations. In general rain is most abundant on the seaward slopes of the Western Ghats and in Burma and in Assam. Northwestern India is the driest portion and one third of the Deccan is also very inadequately supplied with moisture.

Bursting of the Monsoon — So important are these winds to the life of the people that the bursting of the

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p. 60

² Mill *International Geography* p. 474

monsoon has been the theme of a multitude of native poets from the Vedic Rishis to modern poetasters. A European *savant's* account of the coming of the rains is not less poetical than it is accurate. "The spectacle presented at its first approach may be easily contemplated from Mathuran, near Bombay, from Mahabaleshwar, or any of the other headlands of the Western Ghats, which command at once a view of the sea, the coast, and the mountain gorges. The first storm clouds, forerunners of the tempest, usually gather between the sixth and eighteenth of June, according to the year. On one side of the horizon the coppery vapors are piled up like towers, or, according to the local expression, are massed together 'like elephants in battle', and as they move slowly towards the land, one half of the firmament becomes densely overcast, while not a speck sullies the deep azure in the opposite direction. On the one hand, mountains and valleys are wrapped in darkness; on the other, the outline of the seaboard stands out with intense sharpness, the surface of sea and rivers assumes the metallic hue of steel; the whole land, with its scattered towns, glitters with a weird glare. As the clouds strike the crags of the Western Ghats, the thunder begins to rumble, the whirlwind bursts over the land, the lightnings flash incessantly, the peals grow more frequent and prolonged; the rain is discharged in tremendous downpours. Then the black clouds are suddenly rent asunder, the light of day gradually returns, all nature is again bathed in the rays of the setting sun, and of all the banked up masses nothing remains except some fleecy vapor ascending the valleys or drifting over the tree tops. Such is usually the first outburst of the monsoon, after which follow the regular rains. But the watery mists will at times present themselves unescorted by the majesty of thunder and lightning, and then a midnight darkness unexpectedly overspreads the horizon, and the whole land is deluged by torrential rains. At times also the dense masses drift slowly

along the mantling headlands for hours together, like fleets of war-ships sailing by a line of strongholds, each cloud in its turn discharging its electric shocks as it doubles the capes. The heavens seem then to be at war with the frowning cliffs of the seaboard."

3 *Seasons* — The distinctions between the cool, hot, and rainy seasons are well marked and are practically omnipresent. The cool months extend from November to the middle of February. The rainy season falls in mid-summer, ending ordinarily in September. These rains are preceded by dry, hot weather and are accompanied and followed by a trying, moist heat. Winter is the pleasantest portion of the year, spring includes the hot and healthy months, summer weather depends on the duration of the rains, and the fall is close and unhealthy, usually because of malaria.

The Six Seasons — The six seasons or "youths" of the old Aryan myths are still popularly spoken of in the river plains. According to these myths, "the *vasanta*, or spring, is the season of love and pleasure, as sung by the poets. The air is now serene, the sky limpid, while the southern zephyr murmurs softly in the foliage, wafting to the rural hamlet the intoxicating fragrance of the mango blossom. Field operations are now over, and the time has come for marriage and feasts in honor of the gods. But this is presently followed by the *grishma*, or 'season of sweats' with its dust clouds rising above the roads and fields, its frequent fires amidst the dense jungle and crackling bamboos. These are the burning months of May and June, when the air is ominously still. But the fierce tornado is already preparing, the clouds are banking up, the thunderstorm bursts forth, heralding the monsoon, which begins with the *varsha*, or 'rainy season'. Now the fields are watered by swollen streams, nature is renewed, the seed sprouts in the tilled land. These two months of July and August are

followed by the *sharad* or autumn season of September and October which ripens the fruits with its heats, still humid from the recent rains. Then comes the *himanta*, or winter answering to the two last months of the European year when the mornings and evenings are chill, but the days bright allowing the husbandman to reap and harvest his crops. Lastly, the *sasi* or *sirsa*, — that is the period of fogs and night dews — ends with the month of February, after which the cycle of the seasons begins again.”

4 *Climatic Scourges — Cyclones* — Climatic aberrations grievously affect the Indian Empire as witness the awful ravages due to natural causes which often decimate exposed sections. Cyclones of a severity scarcely equaled in the West Indies or Mascarene Islands occur somewhat frequently. Their coming is unexpected and in a few hours appalling ruin marks the place where prosperity reigned. The most destructive cyclones are experienced around the head of the Bay of Bengal. The worst of these terrific visitations in history was the Baker ganj cyclone of 1876 which drove huge waves over large islands and in a few hours engulfed 150 000 acres of land sweeping into eternity more than 2 000 000 souls. Cholera followed in its wake caused by the putrefaction of unburied corpses, thus still further decimating the district.

Drought — Even more destructive to human life are the droughts which occasionally visit the dryer parts of India especially in Sind the Punjab portions of the Gangetic Plain and large sections of the Deccan and other parts of the Empire where the mean annual rainfall is from forty to sixty inches. This lack of rain is increasingly provided against by the extension of the government system of rivers and *irrigating canals*. The extent of this system may be judged from a single example that of the Sirhind Canal in the Punjab the main arteries of which are 542 miles in length the tributaries aggregating 4 462 miles

Famines — As a natural concomitant of extreme drought, though the product of other factors as well, deadly famines occur at intervals of a few years. That of 1878, which lasted twelve months in the Northwestern Provinces and twenty two months in Madras, directly affected a population of more than 58,000,000, with a consequent reduction through deaths and a diminished birth rate of about 7,000,000. The awful famine of 1900, so fresh in our memories, severely affected 52,000,000 people and resulted directly and indirectly in the death of toward a million persons, a large majority of whom were children.

Famine Accompaniments — Cholera is often an accompaniment of famines, as are fevers of various sorts, so that the by products are calamities of considerable moment. The bubonic plague which, during the years 1896 to 1900, caused the death of nearly 360,000 persons in India is produced, according to the Bombay Plague Research Committee, by causes leading to a lower state of vitality, of which insufficient food is probably the most important. One can readily understand, therefore, how anxious the people are about the coming of abundant rains.

II

SOME HISTORICAL FACTORS

Character of Indian History — History cannot be predicated of ancient India in the same sense that it is of those contemporary river valley nations of the Nile the Euphrates and the Huang Ho yet the early civilization of the Indus and its tributaries is no less certain a fact and it is even more interesting especially to the student of religion Professor Cowell thus characterizes India's history The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression In the vernaculars derived from the Sanskrit we use the term *itihas* But how immeasurably different the Sanskrit *itihasa* and the Greek *istoria* ! The one implies personal research and inquiry — its best comment indeed is Herodotus on a life of travel from land to land the other is a curious compound of three words *iti* *ha* *asa* which almost correspond in meaning to our old nursery phrase There was once upon a time The oldest legend has passed current as readily as the most authentic fact — nay more readily because it is more likely to charm the imagination and in this phase of mind imagination and feeling supply the only proof which is needed to win the belief of the audience Hence the whole history of ancient India is a blank We know nothing of the actual events which transpired — the revolutions which changed the aspect of society such as the growth of the caste system the rise of Buddhism the first great protest against caste its temporary triumph or its final overthrow — unless it be in a few fragments any allusions

which dropped unconsciously from the Brahmanical writers and which modern scholarship has toilsomely pieced together like broken sentences in a palimpsest. In the same way India has properly no literary history her greatest authors are only names.¹ Notwithstanding the uncertainty thus clearly stated there is pretty general agreement as to the order of certain outstanding events though the dates in the present chapter are only given as approximate and in order to indicate prevalent opinion. In this respect Indian history is like geological strata the order of which is pretty evident though the chronology is not determinable.

I THE ABORIGINAL BACKGROUND

1 *Earliest Inhabitants* — In the dimmest dawn of Indian history, no one knows how long ago though Max Muller suggests 4 000 years or more we find existing in the northwestern part of the peninsula a primitive race.

Who the first inhabitants of India were we know not. In primeval days wild savage people inhabited the land wandering to and fro along the riversides in search of food. The only records they have left of their existence are the chipped flint or quartzite arrow heads scrapers and axes dug up to day in the alluvial deposits of the great river valleys. By degrees these aboriginal inhabitants became more civilized. They learned to smooth and polish their rude stone implements perforating them with holes so as to attach them to handles. As time went on they made gold and silver ornaments and manufactured earthen pots which are still discovered in the strange tombs constructed of upright stone slabs wherein they buried their dead.

2 *Their Modern Representatives* — From their homes in the river valleys lowlands and open country

¹ Cowell *Inaugural Lecture* pp 10 11

these primeval people of India were gradually driven by other invading races to the lofty mountain ranges, where, amid the dense forests, their descendants still live undisturbed, retaining all their primitive simplicity, superstitions, beliefs, and habits. During the taking of the Census of 1872 it was ascertained that one twelfth of the population of India, nearly twenty millions of human beings, consisted of these living fossils of primeval times [Later censuses do not clearly distinguish aboriginal elements] There they remain, a strange study to the historian and anthropologist, worshipers of spirits, ghosts and demons, worshipers of snakes trees mountains, streams, and aught that inspires wonder, fear or terror, but little affected by the efforts of their British rulers to inculcate the most primary elements of civilization, except in so far as their grosser habits of human sacrifice infanticide, and intertribal war and bloodshed have been sternly suppressed.¹

3 *Conjectural Origin* — Conjecture has busied itself with these extremely interesting people. They, or at least the Dravidians, are supposed by some to be the surviving remnant of a great race originally inhabiting a wide continent, now submerged, which stretched from Africa and Madagascar to Melanesia in the South Pacific. Indeed "Bishop Caldwell points out that aboriginal tribes in Southern and Western Australia use almost the same words for I, thou, he, we you etc., as the Dravidian fishermen on the Madras coast and resemble in other ways the Madras hill tribes as in the use of their national weapon the boomerang." Others regard the Dravidians as having come from beyond the Himalayas. Dim memories of the lofty mountain home prevail among other tribes, like those expressed in the name of the Santal race god, "the Great Mountain," and in the Gond traditions which assert that they were created at the foot of a Himalayan peak. A

¹ Frazer *British India* pp 49 50

² Hunter *Indian Empire* p 105

touching illustration of the strength of this tradition survived until recently in their custom of burying the dead with the feet turned Himalaya-ward, so as to be ready to return at last to their lofty mountain home. *Language differentiations* suggest foreign origins of the non Aryan races. These enduring witnesses of antiquity would seem to indicate three great sources of emigration. Thus the *Tibeto Burman* races, which now cling closely to the Himalayas, especially their northeastern offshoots, may have entered India from their early Mongolian home by way of the northeastern passes. The *Kolarian stock*, now chiefly dwelling in the North and along the northeastern edge of the Deccan table land, probably entered India by the same gateway as opened to the Tibeto Burmans. The third and predominant stock, the *Dravidians*, who now occupy the southern part of the Deccan, probably entered India by the northwestern passes, if affinities with Finnish, Baluchi, and Ugrian languages are not misleading.

4 *Aboriginal Religion* — Though the early Aryan traditions and literature speak contemptuously of the aborigines and regard them as abject heathen, using the epithets, "lawless," "disturbers of sacrifice," "without gods and without rights," they were nevertheless possessed of some religious instincts. "The Kols worshipped the local spirits that dwelt in the trees of the forest, and ghosts. The Dravidians worshipped the productive earth herself, under the symbol of the snake, and the linga or rude stone emblem of male reproduction. They did not however, entirely neglect the local spirits of the forest whom the Kols revered. The tree, with the deity who dwelt in it, was united with their adoration of the snake. The Dravidians were the famous tree and serpent worshipers of Ancient India." These lower forms of worship, persisting from antiquity to the present among the non Aryans have doubtless had much to do with the degradation of the

early and purer forms of Vedic religion. They certainly constitute a considerable portion of the popular Hinduism of to day

II THE VEDIC AGE, 2000-1400 B C

1 *The Date of First Invasion* — At the dawn of more authentic Indian history, only a few years before the accepted date of the crossing of the Euphrates by Abram, the "immigrant," we see a host of Aryan nomads descending by the northwestern passes of India and crossing the sea like river Indus, whence they were destined to spread over the fertile northern plains and become *par excellence*, the Hindus India's predominating race

2 *Original Aryan Home* — Whence they came cannot be definitely stated. Max Muller would have us believe that the Aryan hearthstone was somewhere in Asia, Dr Schrader strongly argues for European Russia, and so does Huxley in a modified form, while Herr Penka believes that it was somewhere in Scandinavia. Be the exact locality of the ancestral home where it may, it is interesting to know that this same momentous migration carried our remote ancestors ultimately into Germany and Britain, while their brethren the Greeks and Romans, sought in Southern Europe the seat of future empires, and their no less Aryan — "noble" — brothers journeyed to the land of endless summer, lying south of the Himalayas

Family Heirlooms — Reminiscences of the common Aryan family life survive in our every day words father, mother brother sister, while daughter reminds the scattered branches of the great family of the time when she was the "milkmaid" of the Aryan household. Names of domestic animals the terminology of animal life and of the household economy and a host of other words are also echoes of our brotherhood that reverberate from the Ganges westward to the Golden Gate. Max-Muller calls

attention to the fact that most of the terms connected with the chase and warfare differ in each of the Aryan dialects while words connected with the more peaceful occupations belong generally to the common heirloom of the Aryan language.

It will show that all the Aryan nations had led a long life of peace before they separated and that their language acquired individuality and nationality as each colony started in search of new homes.¹

3 *The Aryan Invasion* — The Aryans from their entrance into India appeared in the character of warriors endeavoring to wrest the Punjab from the original inhabitants. Romesh C Dutt a distinguished writer from whom we shall often quote writes of this struggle. The story of the extermination of barbarians by civilized races is much the same in ancient and in modern times and the banks of the Indus and its tributaries were cleared of their aborigines 1800 years before Christ much in the same way in which the banks of the great Mississippi have been cleared 1800 years after Christ of the many brave and warlike Indian tribes who lived and ruled and hunted in the primeval woods of America.² Passages in the *Rig Veda* graphically picture the running fight carried on between the colonists and the aborigines the deadly ambush the awful Aryan reprisals and the terror inspired in the dark aborigines by the unfamiliar and terrible war horse. They also testify to internecine struggles which more than once rent Aryan society in twain. In all these conflicts the immigrants do not fight alone the gods notably Indra and Varuna are their powerful allies and religion furnishes the inspiration of carnage.

Relics of Ancient Hostility — One effect of this constant conflict with the aboriginal tribes was a sharp differentiation between them and the Aryan conquerors which still exists to some extent between the Hindus and

¹ Chambers's *Encyc. Britanica* article Aryan Race and Language.

² I : 16 *East India* p. 22

priate one and the promises which the bride and bridegroom made were suitable to the occasion. The bride was a new comer into her husband's family, and she was received with appropriate injunctions. The male servants, the female servants, and the very cattle were of the family, and the bride was asked to be kind and considerate and good to them all. Free from anger and with a cheerful mind she must not only minister to her husband's happiness, but be devoted to the gods worshiped in the family and be kind to all its dependents. She must extend her gentle influence over her husband's father and mother, she must keep under due control his brothers and sisters and be the queen of the household. And thus she must remain united to her husband until old age, the virtual mistress of a large and patriarchal family, and respected and honored as Hindu women were honored in ancient times.

Sons inherited the property of their father, and in the absence of sons, the daughter's son might be adopted.¹

5 *Death* — Death was probably followed in the earliest times by burial, though cremation soon came into vogue. As we shall see, the bright gods had been most worshiped in life. Hence death was not without its visions of hope as witness these verses from an Aryan funeral chant: "O thou deceased proceed to the same place where our forefathers have gone by the same path which they followed. The two kings Yama and Varuna are pleased with the offerings, go and meet them."

"Proceed to that happy heaven and mix with our forefathers. Meet Yama and reap the fruits of thy virtuous deeds. Leave sin behind, enter thy home."

'O ye shades' leave this place go away move away. For the forefathers have prepared a place for the deceased. That place is beautiful with day, with sparkling waters and light. Yama assigns this place for the dead.² So far

¹ *Dutt Ancient India* p. 23. 4

² *R. G. Edg.* x. 14. 9

as the *Rig Veda* is concerned there is no mention of a hell and future tortures to occasion somberness in life

6 *Vedic Religion* — The key to Indian history is like that which unlocks Jewish historical records, it is the key of religion. As a leading watchword among certain recent religious reformers of India is 'Back to the Vedas' the early religion should receive special attention particularly the hymns found in the *Rig Veda*

Classifications of Deities — While the hymns of the *Rig Veda* may be divided into three classes those in which are especially lauded the older divinities those in which appear as most prominent the sacrificial gods and those in which a long weakened polytheism is giving place to the light of a clearer pantheism it is simpler to class the deities as to their supposed abode or sphere of action. Thus the Hindus themselves divided their gods into highest middle and lowest and those of the upper sky

same with that of Savitar. As the 'mighty one' he is Vishnu, who measures heaven in three strides.¹

Heaven and Earth — While the Western Aryan made Zeus his chief god, his brother in the Punjab did not give his counterpart Dyaus, the "shining sky," so important a place, though he is regarded as father of gods, particularly of Dawn and Indra. To heaven and earth, which are linked together in the hymns, are ascribed secondary functions, such as bringing the gods to sacrifice, bestowing upon mortals children, wealth, food and the strength of heroes. The two gods are mostly addressed with sacrificial intent.

Varuna — Varuna, Greek Οἰκωνος, is more powerful and was highly honored. Though he appears in a variety of relations to men, especially as a water god, in the most exalted representations of him, "his realm is all above us; the sun and stars are his eyes. He sits above upon his golden throne and sees all that passes below, even the thoughts of men. He is, above all, the moral controller of the universe." Here is a Vedic quotation which depicts this 'sky god of righteousness' as viewed by sinning men.

Prayer for Forgiveness — "3 O Varuna! with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men to make the inquiry, the sages have all said to me, 'Varuna is displeased with thee.' 4 O Varuna! for what deed of mine dost thou wish to destroy thy friend thy worshiper? O thou of irresistible power declare it to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration and come to thee. 5 O Varuna! deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our person. O roval Varuna! deliver Vasishtha like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen animal. 6 O Varuna! all this sin is not wilfully com-

¹ Hephæstus, *The Iliad*, 22. 338.

² P. 1, p. 6.

mitted by us Error or wine anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin Even an elder brother leads his younger astray Sin is begotten even in our dreams 7 Freed from sins I will serve as a slave the god Varuna who fulfills our wishes and supports us We are ignorant may the Arya god bestow on us knowledge May the wise deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth 1

Other Sky Deities — Other deities of the sky are boundless Aditi the mother of Varuna and of the luminous gods as well as of kings the two phenomenal deities Dawn and Night, to whom some of the most poetic of the hymns are addressed and the Asvins the 'Twin Horsemen' who were variously interpreted as being Heaven and Earth Day and Night Sun and Moon, Two Earthly Kings or according to the current explanation Dawn and Dawning

(b) *Gods of Mid air — Wind* — The atmosphere lying between earth and the upper sky was alive with deities which were most needful for the common life and hence they were assiduously worshipped The winds named Vata or Vayu constitute the invisible interpretation of divinity They bring long life to the worshipper but even more than this is true of Vata

other powers, is the oft invoked deity of the Aryan. He and his allied Maruts, or "Gleaming Ones," led on by their father Rudra, the ruddy thunder, is struggling for mastery with the enemy of men, Vritra, who tries in vain to restrain the fertilizing showers. The conflict ends when Parjanya finally scatters upon the earth the rain drops, so arduously won. When it is remembered that this powerful and beneficent friend of the husbandman is also a helper of the warrior, these two stanzas from a hymn to Indra will not appear extravagant.

'Tis Indra all (our) songs extol
Him huge as ocean in extent
Of warriors chiefest warrior he
Lord truest lord for booty a gain

"In friendship Indra strong as thine
Naught will we fear O lord of strength
To thee we our lullations sing

Soma — Older than its Vedic deification is the honor bestowed upon the moon plant *Soma* whose intoxicating drink is inseparably connected with the worship of *Indra* and *Agni*. Its claim to deity seems to be due to the fact that the exhilarating effect of intoxication was regarded as proof positive of the inherent divinity of the moon plant's juice. *Indra*'s greatest deeds were done when under the spell of the *Soma* intoxicant, and upon it depends the immortality of all gods. It is ' *Soma* who overthrows cities. *Soma* who begets the gods, creates the sun, upholds the sky, prolongs life, sees all things and is the one best friend of god and man, the divine drop, the friend of *Indra* '.

Yama — All the gods thus far mentioned are capable of being considered creations of a nature worship. Another great deity not capable of such an interpretation is *Yama*, first of mortals, who later became king of the dead. As *Yama* was the first to die, so was he the first to teach men the road to immortality, which lies through sacrifice whereby man attains to heaven and to immor-

III THE EPIC PERIOD, 1400-1000 B C

1 *Hindu Expansion* — The Aryan immigrants of the Vedic age had formed settlements in Northwestern India along the Indus and its tributaries. In the period now under consideration the Aryans, or preferably in the subsequent history, the Hindus, spread southeastward into the Ganges valley as far as Benares and Behar, establishing kingdoms as they went. The new and more favorable environment caused these peoples to excel their early achievements in the Punjab, leading to an expansion of thought and an extension of culture quite as noteworthy as was their enlargement of territory. Their military deeds, their heroisms their daily life, and their religious aspirations are set forth in the later portions of the Vedas, and especially in the two great epics of India relating to this period, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. It must not be supposed that the epics were composed during this period however, nor is it even certain that the events narrated were as early as the centuries under consideration.

2 *The Mahabharata* — The Kurus, a later appellation of the Bharatas derived from the name of their kings, and the Panchalas, "Five Tribes," were prominent and neighboring kingdoms of the early time. Friendly rivalry in the pursuits of peace eventuated in jealousies, and finally, more than one thousand years before our era, they ended in the famous war which is the background of the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, "the great Bharata." Its heroes are the five sons of Pandu allies probably of the Panchalas, and their common wife daughter of the king of the Panchalis is the heroine. Only about one fourth of the poem is devoted to the war itself, in which the Panchalas were victorious. Its value lies in its episodal material including cosmogony, theogony, law, religions, morals, so that "the *Mahabharata* gradually became

a collection of all that was needed to be known by an educated Hindu, in fact, it became the encyclopedia of India”

3 *The Ramayana* — The other great Indian epic, the *Ramayana*, is superior to the *Mahabharata* in literary value, and was possibly the product of a single poet, tradition doubtfully says Valmiki. Unlike its cyclopedic rival, the *Ramayana* is wholly devoted to the history of Rama, eldest son of the king of the Kosalas. They, the Videhas, the daughter of whose king Rama marries, and the Kasis — the name perpetuated in India’s holy city, Kasi or Benares — were other leading peoples of the epic period. Of Rama and his much enduring wife, whose warrings, trials and wanderings are depicted in the poem, a native writer says: “There is not a Hindu woman in the length and breadth of India to whom the story of the suffering Sita is not known, and to whom her character is not a model and a pattern, and Rama, too, is a model to men for his faithfulness, his obedience, and his piety”

4 *Social Changes* — The age described in these epics exhibits many changes, some of which developed later into India’s most harmful institutions. As has been seen, the loose tribal confederation of Vedic times had developed a number of well compacted nations. The maintenance of peace and the extension of territory necessitated a force of warriors at whose head was, not one of themselves temporarily leading his forces, who later returned to his flocks and fields as in the earlier times, but a king with his retinue of attendants. This force so effectually protected the masses that they no longer needed to bear arms, and yielding to the enervating effects of the climate, they became Vaisyas devoted to agriculture and other pursuits of peace. The simple faith of the *Rig Veda* had gradually developed into state and burdensome forms, with sacrifices innumerable. In order to rightly perform these sacrifices and the accompanying ritual, a priesthood came

they were all present at the great national sacrifices, and all worshipped the same Bright Gods. Beneath them was a fourth or servile class called Sudras the remnants of the vanquished aboriginal tribes whose lives had been spared. These were 'the slave breeds of black descent' the Dasas of the *Veda*. They were distinguished from their 'Twice born' Aryan conquerors as being only 'Once born' and by many contemptuous epithets. They were not allowed to be present at the great national sacrifices or at the feasts which followed them. They could never rise out of their servile condition and to them was assigned the severest toil in the fields and all the hard and dirty work of the village community.

Woman in Society — The status of woman was still honorable. Child marriage was unknown and widows were allowed to remarry. The influence of women in society was extensively felt and at the trials of skill and manly strength they were central figures among the spectators. While the epics contain innuendos and open assaults on womanhood the following lines from the *Mahabharata* contain a truer estimate of the women of the time.

books of the Aryans The *Vedas*—"Inspired knowledge"—had existed in the memory and upon the lips of the Rishi and the more intelligent among the people during the Vedic period, now and in the following period they assume written form in four collections or *Sanhitas*. For the sake of clearness in presenting this literature, later works and revisions are named with those clearly belonging to the epic age.

(a) *The Aryan Sacred Literature—Vedas*—"The *Rig Veda* exhibits the hymns in their simplest form, arranged in ten 'circles' according to the families of their composers, the Rishis. The second, or *Sama Veda*, was made up of extracts from the *Rig Vedic* hymns used at the Soma sacrifice. Some of its verses stamp themselves, by their antiquated grammatical form, as older than their rendering in the *Rig Veda* itself. The third, or *Yajur Veda* consists not only of *Rig Vedic* verses, but also of prose sentences to be used at the sacrifices of the New and Full Moon, and at the Great Horse Sacrifice, when 609 animals of various kinds were offered perhaps in substitution for an earlier Man Sacrifice which is also mentioned in the *Yajur Veda*. The *Yajur Veda* is divided into two editions, the *Black* and the *White Yajur*, both belonging to a more modern period than either the *Rig* or the *Sama Vedas*, and composed after the Aryans had spread far to the east of the Indus. The fourth, or *Atharva Veda*, was compiled from the least ancient hymns of the *Rig Veda* in the tenth book and from the still later songs of the Brahmins, after they had established their priestly power. It supplies the connecting link between the simple Aryan worship of the Shining Ones, exhibited in the *Rig Veda* and the complex Brahmanical system which followed. It was only allowed to rank as part of the *Veda* after a long struggle."

Auxiliary Literature—Brahmanas—To each of these

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* pp. 129-130

of Indian religion first obtained clear expression in the *Upanishads* namely, that of transmigration, which Sir Monier Williams characterizes as "the one haunting thought which colors the whole texture of Indian philosophy"¹ It rests upon a belief in man's kinship with every grade of being from the plant to deities, and is connected with the inherent belief in the inevitability of retribution "Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth the birth of a Brahmana, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaisya But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a Kandala"

(b) *Religion and Hindu Sciences* — By products of this more highly organized religion are found in the development of the sciences in the epic period Dr Thibaut attributes the rise of Indian astronomy to the necessity of knowing the exact time for certain sacrifices, while the laws of phonetics were investigated because the wrath of the gods followed the wrong pronunciation of a single letter Grammar and etymology were also studied, since they had the task of interpreting the sacred texts Arithmetic, pre eminently a Hindu science, was likewise developed during this age²

(c) *Popular Religion* — Religion of the daily life was becoming more formal, yet in spite of the growing influence of the Brahmans there still existed considerable personal and formal religion "While kings and wealthy men delighted in elaborate sacrifices, all pious Hindus, be they rich or poor performed their little rites at their domestic firesides No idol was worshipped, and no temple was known, the descendants of the Vedic Hindus still went through their religious ceremonies in their own

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 6.

² *Progress* November 1897 p. 196

³ Max Muller *The Upanishads* vol. I p. 82

⁴ Dutt *Ancient India* pp. 62, 63

homes, and offered oblations and prayers according to ancient rule

The Ideal Man — "Hospitality to strangers is prescribed as a religious obligation, while the essence of a Hindu's duties is inculcated in such passages as these: Speak the truth Do thy duty Do not neglect the study of the *Veda* After having brought to thy teacher the proper reward, marry and beget children Do not swerve from the truth Do not swerve from duty Do not neglect what is useful Do not neglect greatness Do not neglect the teaching of the *Veda* Do not neglect the sacrifices due to the gods and the fathers' Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god Let thy father be to thee like unto a god Blameless acts should be regarded not others Good works performed by us should be regarded by thee"

IV PERIOD OF TERRITORIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EXPANSION, 1000-320 B. C.

1 *General Character of the Period* — A native authority, T. J. Desai regards these centuries as including perhaps the most brilliant period of Hindu history. "It was in this period that the Aryans issued out of the Gangetic valley, spread themselves far and wide, and introduced Hindu civilization and founded Hindu kingdoms as far as the southernmost limits of India. Magadha or South Behar, which was already known to the Hindus in the epic period, was completely Hinduized in this epoch, and the young and powerful kingdom founded here soon eclipsed all the ancient kingdoms of the Gangetic valley. Buddhism spread from Magadha to surrounding kingdoms and when Chandra Gupta the contemporary of Alexander the Great, brought the whole of Northern India into one great empire the epoch of the greatest Hindu civilization was reached."

¹ Desai, *General History of India*, p.

one begins'.¹ While the Hindus had thus spread throughout India, its southern and eastern portions were still mainly non Aryan, though these sections had taken on a veneer of Hindu religion and civilization.

² *Intellectual Expansion—Science*—It is evident from the foregoing that the Hindus of this period were valiant warriors and fairly successful civilizers of rude tribes, but what of those who remained in their more central homes along the Ganges? Learning flourished, spurred on mainly by the demands of religion. Geometry which had its beginning in the epic age, was now formally set forth in the *Sulva Sutras* of the eighth century. It was necessitated by the minute specifications as to altar construction and this at a period prior by a century or two to the work of Thales and Pythagoras, the reputed founders of the science in the West. The decimal notation unknown to Greeks and Romans and introduced into Europe by Arabs returning from India was in common use. Our so called Arabic numerals were derived from India. They are variations of the abbreviated forms of initials of Sanskrit names of the numerals, zero, e.g., representing the first letter of the word for empty. Algebra was also cultivated by the Brahmans. As Dr. Wise has shown Hippocrates, the father of Greek Medicine borrowed his *materia medica* from the Hindus. Certain it is that Alexander the Great maintained Hindu physicians in his camp in order to treat diseases which Greek practitioners could not heal. European medicine down to the seventh century was based upon the Arabic which in turn, depended upon early translation of Sanskrit medical treatises. While the acme of the healing art was not reached until later, the pharmacy, dissecting and surgery of the Hindus was remarkable during these centuries'.³

¹ *India Ceylon etc* pp 298-299

² See Taylor, *The Alphabet* vol II pp 236-68

³ Dutt *Ancient India* p 95

⁴ For details consult Hunter *Indian Empire* pp 148-150

Philosophy — But it was in the field of philosophy and logic that the Hindus of this age achieved their highest fame. Indeed this factor is so prominent that some Indian writers have called these centuries the Philosophical or Rationalistic Age. The Sankhya — Synthesis — philosophy of Kapila dates probably from the seventh century and according to Davies it is the earliest recorded system of philosophy. In his view the German systems of Schopenhauer and Hartmann are merely a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part presented in a more elaborate form but on the same fundamental lines.

Its Six Schools — The *Shat Sastras* or Six Instruments of True Teaching also called *Shad Darsanas* or Six Demonstrations of Truth were probably written during this period and at any rate contained the views of the time. They are as follows: Nyaya founded by Gautama, Vaisheshika by Kanada, Sankhya by Kapila, Yoga by Patanjali, Mimamsa by Jaimini, Vedanta by Balarama or Vyasa. Into the intricacies of these mutually conflicting systems we cannot enter but would refer the reader to other sources.* The Nyaya system contains in its early part the basis of Hindu logic with its famous syllogism of five terms. The Yoga and Vedanta systems are of especial interest to the missionary because of their closer relation to modern ascetic practices and religious reform.

3. *Popular Religion* — While most of the works named above have to do with religion such abstruse speculations did not largely affect the masses. They were more in evidence in some of the *Sutras* — literally strings — which were collections of aphorisms deduced from the Brahmana literature of the Epic period. Rigid conservatism was the

ancestors These Pitri—Fathers or Manes—were honored in Vedic times but from this period to the present day the worship has been so prominent that Professor Bhattacharya is led to make so extreme a statement as the following concerning it Ancestor worship in some form or other, is the beginning the middle and the end of what is known as the Hindu religion It is a most important part of a son's duty to see that the departed parent is provided with an intermediate body and enabled to perform the terrible journey to Yama

4 *Buddhism*—The greatest contribution of this period to the Asiatic world was Buddhism Gautama 'The Buddha' that is, 'The Enlightened' was born according to one of many conflicting views in 557 B C The leading facts in his life with the dates as based upon that birth year, are as follows :

<i>Leading Facts and Dates</i>	<i>B C</i>
Born near Kapilavastu	557
His marriage with Yasodhara	538
Left his home wife and infant	53
Became enlightened at Buddha Gaya and proclaimed his religion at Benares	52
Revisited his home	51
His father Suddhodana died and his stepmother and wife joined the Order	517
His son Rahula joined the Order	508
Yasodhara's father died	507

pain, there is a cause for this pain, there is a destruction for the cause of this pain, there is a way or path that leads to the destruction of the cause of pain. These truths are called "Law of the Wheel," as they "revolve in a circle which should constantly be moving before the minds of men." The way of deliverance is expressed in the "Eight Divisions," which are right views, right aims, right words, right behavior, right mode of livelihood, right exertion, right mindedness, right meditation and tranquility. There are ten fetters to be broken in the "Four Stages of the Path," namely, delusion of self, doubt, dependence on works, bodily passions, hatred or ill feeling, love of life on earth, desire for life in heaven, pride, self righteousness, and ignorance¹.

The Ten Commandments — For practical guidance in the realm of conduct Buddha gave his followers ten commandments. The first five, binding on laity and priesthood alike, are Not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to be drunken. The remaining five apply to those who are in pursuit of Nirvana and who have entered on the religious life. They are Abstinence from food out of season, that is, after mid day, abstinence from dances theatrical representations, songs and music, abstinence from personal ornaments and perfumes, abstinence from a lofty and luxurious couch, and abstinence from taking gold and silver.

Secret of Buddhism's Success — Buddhism was a protest against the tyranny of Brahminism and caste, and the cause of its success is thus stated by Sir William Hunter. "The secret of Buddha's success was that he brought spiritual deliverance to the people. He preached that salvation was equally open to all men, and that it must be earned not by propitiating imaginary deities, but by our own conduct. His doctrines thus cut away the religious basis of caste, impaired the efficiency of the sacri-

¹ Davis's *Buddhism* pp. 108-110.

ficial ritual, and assailed the supremacy of the Brahmans as the mediators between God and man. Buddha taught that sin, sorrow, and deliverance, the state of a man in this life, in all previous and in all future lives, are the inevitable results of his own acts (Karma). He thus applied the inexorable law of cause and effect to the soul. What a man sows, he must reap. By this great law of Karma, Buddha explained the inequalities and apparent injustice of man's estate in this world as the consequence of acts in the past, while Christianity compensates those inequalities by rewards in the future. A system in which our whole well-being, past, present, and to come, depends on ourselves, theoretically leaves little room for the interference or even existence, of a personal God. But the atheism of Buddha was a philosophical tenet, which, so far from weakening the sanctions of right and wrong, gave them new strength from the doctrine of Karma, or the metempsychosis of character.¹

V PERIOD OF BUDDHISTIC ASCENDENCY 320 B C—400 A D

Before the former period had closed Buddhism had spread quite widely over India. During the one under consideration it reached its ascendancy. While the old faith still existed in strength Buddhism was the dominant power, and India received from it important contributions.

1 *External History*—*Greek Invasions*—In 327 B C Alexander the Great invaded Northwestern India, entering the modern Punjab and Sind. During his two years' campaign he subjugated no provinces, but he made alliances, founded cities, planted garrisons, and introduced a Greek factor into the native courts. His successors in India, who came from Bactria—Northern Afghanistan—formed alliances with native potentates and penetrated eastward to the center of the country.

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* pp 186 187

ple to India has exerted on his faith a deeper influence than any event since his death

2 (a) *Prominent Rulers*—*Chandra Gupta*—Against the Greek invaders arose Chandra Gupta, "the moon protected" a low caste adventurer, who became the first king of India—316-292 B.C. He was known to the West as Sandracottus. Though not a Buddhist, he founded the Kingdom of Magadha which, under his grandson, was to become the stronghold of the new faith. So powerful was he that Seleukos, Alexander's successor and the founder of the Syrian monarchy gave him his daughter in marriage. It is the India of his time that the Greek Megasthenes so graphically portrayed. Indeed, until within a little more than a century the Occident had no better account of early India than his. Mandeville's travels are illustrations of the usual type of writings.

Indian Society 300 B.C.—The following is his description of Indian society under this enlightened monarch. "The Greek ambassador observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valor they excelled all other Asiatics, they required no locks to their doors, above all no Indian was ever known to tell a lie. Sober and industrious good farmers and skillful artisans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a lawsuit and lived peaceably under their native chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in Manu with its hereditary castes of councilors and soldiers. Megasthenes mentions that India was divided into 118 kingdoms, some of which, such as that of the Prasii under Chandra Gupta exercised suzerain powers. The village system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic. Megasthenes remarked the exemption of the husbandmen (Vaisyas) from war and public services, and enumerates the dyes, fibres, fabrics and products—animal, vegetable and mineral—of India. Husbandry depended on the per-

odical rains, and forecasts of the weather, with a view to 'make adequate provision against a coming deficiency' formed a special duty of the Brahmans. But mark the judicious proviso, 'The philosopher who errs in his predictions observes silence for the rest of his life' ¹

(b) *Asoka or Piyadasi* — Asoka, king of Magadha 264-232 B.C., Chandra Gupta's grandson became a convert to Buddhism about 257 B.C. No king in their annals is more illustrious than this Buddhist Constantine. "His name is honored wherever the teachings of the Buddha have spread and is revered from the Volga to Japan from Ceylon and Siam to the borders of Mongolia and Siberia. 'If a man's fame' says Koppen 'can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honor, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Caesar' ²

His Edicts — The emphasis placed upon religion and the propagation of Buddhism is plainly seen in the fourteen rock cut edicts still existing in different parts of Northern India. The gist of Edicts 4-13 is as follows. "He made an announcement of religious grace, appointed ministers of religion and missionaries, appointed moral instructors to take cognizance of the conduct of the people, proclaimed universal religious toleration, recommended pious enjoyments in preference to sensual amusements, expatiated on the merits of imparting religious instruction and moral advice, extolled true heroism and glory found in spreading true religion, declared the imparting of religious instruction as the best of all kinds of charity, proclaimed his desire to convert all unbelievers on the principles of universal toleration and moral persuasion, mentioned the conquest of Kalinga and the names of five Greek kings his contemporaries to whose kingdoms as

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p. 217

² Davis *Buddhism* pp. 221-222

well as to various parts of India he had sent Buddhist missionaries.¹ The Greek kings referred to were Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, Magus of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus. Other edicts inscribed in Delhi, Allahabad and elsewhere still further prove his interest in elevating society and the moral life, yet his very liberality toward the new faith and its ministers was the beginning of its decay.

(c) *Kanishka* — Chandra Gupta's dynasty ended about forty years after Asoka's death, and from the South came India's great rulers for more than four centuries, 26-430 A.D. In the first Christian century, however, when St. Paul was beginning his missionary labors, a conqueror of the Scythian line ruled in Central Asia and Northwestern India, having his capital in Kashmir. This King Kanishka, referred to on a previous page, extended his rule as far eastward as Agra and to the north and northwest, so that his empire was unequalled in extent from the time of Asoka to that of the Moguls. His service to India lies in the council convened by him and described below.

3 *Councils* — *First Two* — Four important councils in the history of Buddhism should be noted. The first two, if tradition may be trusted, occurred in the previous period one in the year of Buddha's death, and the other a century later. The former brought together 500 monks who together chanted² the teachings of their master in order to fix them in memory. They thus gave authority to the early Buddhist doctrines. These teachings later embodied in the *Tripitaka*, "Three Baskets," are the Southern Buddhist's Scriptures. They are entitled *Sutta Pitaka*, *Vinaya Pitaka*, and *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, and contain respectively the sayings and doings of Buddha himself, the rules of the monastic life affecting monks and nuns, and disquisitions on various subjects doctrinal and philo-

¹ Dutt *Ancient India* p. 116

² The Buddhist name for council means singing together

sophical These were doubtless added to and changed long after the council A division arising among the monks, the liberal party, who desired to gain authority for the Ten Indulgences were defeated by the more orthodox. The second council of 700 members reasserted the faith but their decisions were not universally acknowledged and the seceders left the main body, never again to be reunited to them

Asoka's Council — In order to counteract the teachings of heretical leaders Asoka called a council of 1,000 monks, which convened possibly in 244 B C It fixed the faith of Southern Buddhism practically as it is to day It was at this time that the king determined on the edicts already referred to and they were accordingly cut in stone throughout his realm

Council of Kanishka — It remained for King Kanishka and the fourth council to complete in the first Christian century the Northern Canon Sixty five hundred monks compiled three commentaries one of 100 000 couplets on each of the Pitakas These Sanskrit commentaries constitute the *Greater Vehicle* of Northern Asia as distinguished from the shorter or *Lesser Vehicle* in Pali of the Buddhists of Ceylon Burma and Siam While the Northern Canon contains later corruptions and developments of the Indian faith, it is far more hopeful in its character than the atheistic Southern Canon

4 *Buddhist Missions* — Buddhism during this period was remarkable for its missionary activity Asoka gave the first strong impulse in this direction "In the year of the council, he founded a State Department to watch over the purity, and to direct the spread, of the faith A Minister of Justice and Religion directed its operations, and as one of its first duties was to proselytize, this Minister was charged with the welfare of the aborigines among whom his missionaries were sent Asoka did not think it enough to convert the inferior races, without looking after their

material interests. Wells were to be dug and trees planted along the roads, a system of medical aid for man and beast was established throughout his kingdom and the conquered provinces, as far as Ceylon. Officers were appointed to watch over domestic life and public morality and to promote instruction among the women as well as the youth. Asoka recognized proselytism by peaceful means as a state duty. The Rock Inscriptions record how he sent forth missionaries 'to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries,' to 'intermingle among all unbelievers' for the spread of religion. They shall mix equally with soldiers, Brahmans, and beggars, with the dreaded and the despised, both within the kingdom 'and in foreign countries, teaching better things.' Conversion is to be effected by persuasion, not by the sword. Buddhism was at once the most intensely missionary religion in the world and the most tolerant. This character of a proselytizing faith, which wins its victories by peaceful means, so strongly impressed upon it by Asoka, has remained a prominent feature of Buddhism to the present day.¹ It may be added that the object lesson afforded by the going to Ceylon as missionaries of King Asoka's own son and daughter, proved an important factor in the early propaganda.

5 *The Jains* — A religion allied to Buddhism and Hinduism, but especially to the former, is that of the Jains. An unsettled controversy concerning its origin and age prevents any dogmatic statement, yet, either parallel with Buddhism's rise and independent of it, or as an offshoot from it, this body of religionists came into existence. With the Buddhists, they denied the divine authority of the *Vedas* and opposed the destruction of animal life, so common among Brahmans, while, with the Brahmans, they favored caste, performed their essential ceremonies, and even recognized subordinate Hindu deities. Their earlier books may date from the period under consideration.

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* pp. 190-191.

6 *Buddhist Civilization* — Less important than the new religion, and yet part of its fruitage, are the elements of its civilization which are so prominent during the Buddhistic age. The demands of the Buddhist society gave rise to great structures in stone, and hence *architecture* was developed, reaching its acme about the beginning of the Christian era. Both monasteries and churches, however, were, for the most part, excavated out of living rock. It is probably true that *sculpture and painting*, as well as architecture, were superior at that time, for the reason that after the decay of Buddhism and the new emphasis of caste, these arts fell under the spell of the caste system which relegated such employments to the laboring classes, who lacked the brain for superior work. *Medicine* reached its zenith under the Buddhists, and because of the impetus given the study by the Greeks, eighteen Hindu astronomical works were written. It was now also that the *Laws of Manu* were recast in verse and modified to meet the views of the age. The two longest books of Manu's Institutes are still regarded as important, and portions of them are authoritative in modern Indian courts. Among minor sins mentioned by Manu are those of "superintending mines and factories, and executing great mechanical works."

VI THE PURANIC PERIOD—500 1000 A. D.

1 *Preview* — During these centuries Buddhism gradually lost its power and finally ceased to be an important factor in India's life, its place being taken by a new form of Hinduism which is largely the forerunner of the popular religion of to day. Already, however, Buddhism had sounded forth its message from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea and had won millions of adherents, from the Central Asiatic roof of the world to the Malay Archipelago. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Java, and

adjacent islands, Tibet and the regions to its north and northwest, and the vast empire of China, were henceforth the patrons of that faith, which had been rejected and driven from its home by Buddha's own countrymen. These centuries, moreover, were the Augustan Age of Hindu literature resplendent with a glory all the more striking because of the two centuries of darkness with which the period closed

2 *Buddhism's Passing* — A Chinese Buddhist, Hsüan Tsang, who returned from India in the year 645 with 657 books, many pictures and images, and 150 relics¹ is our most reliable source of information concerning Buddhism at that day. Indeed Bishop Bigandet, in his *Life of Gaudama*, says of him and Fa Hsien, an earlier pilgrim: "The voyages of two Chinese travelers, undertaken in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, have done more to elucidate the history and geography of India than all that has hitherto been found in the Sanskrit and Pali Books of that and the neighboring countries." Though the famous Buddhist centers of Magadha were in decay or declining, in Behar, Nalanda and its university arose to be for moribund Buddhism what Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages. "Ten thousand monks and novices of the Eighteen Schools there studied theology, philosophy, law, science — especially medicine — and practiced their devotions." While on its scholastic side Nalanda showed no signs of decline, popular Buddhism came to be mainly a matter of pilgrimages, ceremonial, and image worship. For centuries Hinduism had taken on more and more of its rival's popular features and hence ministered to the need which originally called the latter into existence. Moreover, Buddhism grew increasingly corrupt until finally cruel persecutions and oppres-

¹ *Great Chinese Biographical Dictionary* No. 301

² *Real Chinese Buddhism* p. 18

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica* vol. xii, p. 786, 9th edition

sion, instigated by learned Brahmans, led to its extermination. In the twelfth century scarcely a Buddhist remained in India proper.

Buddhism's Legacy — Though defunct in the land of its birth, Buddhism has left visible traces of its original power, aside from its living presence in Burma to day. The principle of human brotherhood, the asylum which the great Vaishnav sect affords to female victims of caste rules, to widows and outcasts, gentleness and charity to all men, and those elements of Gautama's teachings which are crystallized in the "mild" Hindu of to day, are survivals which for more than two milleniums have made India a better country.

3 *India's Augustan Age* — One of a reigning family, Vikramaditya the Great, a Brahmanist, who may have ruled in the sixth century, so encouraged literature that his reign saw the renaissance of Sanskrit and the beginning of that of Hinduism as well. Nearly all of the great works popular among Hindus to-day date from the period then begun. Among the luminaries of this time are India's Shakespeare, Kalidasa, whose *Sakuntala* Goethe so greatly admired, Amara Sinha, the lexicographer, Aryabhata, the founder of modern Hindu astronomy, and Bhavabhuti, the last of the great poets and literary men of ancient India. Of the strictly *belles lettres* section of the literature produced, it must be confessed that it is disappointingly sensuous in character and without high ideals. Its best elements are borrowings from the early Epics. Contributions to the religious literature during these centuries are mentioned in paragraph 5 below.

4 *Hinduism Composite* — The striking characteristic of this period is found in the rise of a system which developed during subsequent centuries into modern Hinduism. It is a composite product. "The preamble of Hinduism" derived from the *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and philosophical works founded on them, is "that the one sole, self exist-

ing Supreme Self, the only really existing Essence, the one eternal Germ of all things, delights in infinite expansion, in infinite manifestations of itself, in infinite creation, dissolution, and re creation, through infinite varieties and diversities of operation

The very name 'Brahman' given to the Eternal Essence, is expressive of this growth this expansion, this universal development and diffusion

It is only, however, by the practice of a kind of universal toleration and receptivity—carried on through more than two thousand years—that Hinduism has arrived at its present condition. It has first borne with and then accepted, and so to speak, digested and assimilated something from all creeds. It has opened its doors to all comers on the two conditions of admitting the spiritual supremacy of the Brahmans, and conforming to certain caste rules about food intermarriage, and professional pursuits. In this manner it has adopted much of the fetishism of the Negrito aborigines of India; it has stooped to the practices of various hill tribes, and has not scrupled to encourage the adoration of the fish, the boar, the serpent rocks, stones, and trees, it has borrowed ideas from the various cults of the Dravidian races, and it may even owe something to Christianity. Above all, it has appropriated nearly every doctrine of Buddhism, except its atheism its denial of the eternity of soul, and its leveling of caste distinctions.

5 (a) *Religious Literature—Puranas*—The literature which inculcates this new form of religion and which suggests the Hindu characterization of the period the "Puranic Age" is embodied in the *Puranas*, "Ancient Lore". They were apparently preceded and followed by other compositions bearing this name but the eighteen chief Puranas seem to have been the product of this period and the centuries immediately following. Besides cosmogony, they

¹ Next from root *brh* "to grow"

² Monier Williams *Hinduism* pp 86 85

deal with mythical descriptions of the earth, the doctrine of the cosmic ages, the exploits of ancient gods, saints and heroes accounts of the Avatars of Vishnu the genealogies of the Solar and Lunar race of kings, and enumerations of the thousand names of Vishnu or of Siva. They also contain rules about the worship of the gods by means of prayers fastings, votive offerings festivals, and pilgrimages'.¹ The perusal of even a few extracts proves the appropriateness of Professor Hopkins's statement "In the *Puranas*, while the trinity is acknowledged, religion is resolved again into a sort of sectarian monotheism, where the devotee seems to be in the midst of the squabbling horde of temple priests each fighting for his own idol. In the calmer aspects of religion, apart from sectarian schism, these writings offer, indeed, much that is of second rate interest, but little that is of real value".² And yet material of this sort is regarded of such importance that the *Puranas* run interminably on to the alleged extent of 1,600,000 lines!³

(b) *The Tantras* — The *Tantras*, the Bible of Saktism, said to be sixty four in number, probably took their form in this period also, though part of them are of later origin and all may have been greatly modified subsequently. They have been the foulest element in Hinduism for a thousand years and to day, according to Sir Monier Williams, "a vast proportion of the inhabitants of India, especially in Bengal are guided in their daily life and practices by Tantric teaching and are in bondage to the doctrines inculcated in these writings".⁴ How silly and obscene their teaching is may be faintly imagined from the section devoted to Saktism in a later chapter.

(c) *Sankara and Vedantism* — In striking con

¹ Macdonnell *History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 300

² Hopkins *Religions of India* pp. 439-440

³ Wilson *Preface to Vishnu Purana* p. xxiv

⁴ Monier Williams *Brahmism and Hinduism* p. 184.

trast to the corrupt phases of Hinduism set forth in the *Puranas* and *Tantras* are the teachings of India's St. Augustine, Sankara Acharya, who traversed the land, controverting heresies and proclaiming his religious views. While some regard him as having lived before the Christian era, it is most probable that he did his work in our eighth or ninth century. In his commentaries on the *Vedanta Sutas*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the principal *Upanishads* he laid the foundations of present day Vedantism described later. Dying, some say at the early age of thirty two, he left behind him four important monasteries where his doctrines were promulgated. "Undoubtedly Sankara was the very incarnation of strict Brahmanism and if it be possible to name any one real historical concrete personality as a typical representative of Brahmanical doctrines, it is undeniable that we must point to Sankara rather than to the legendary Vyasa, even though the latter be the alleged author of the *Vedanta Sutra*. Yet so utterly barren is India in both history and biography, that very little is known of the life of perhaps one of the greatest religious leaders she has ever produced."

6 *Resultant Life of the Period* — Sir Richard Temple admirably summarizes the life of these centuries of religious transition. "It produced many splendid fanes, the ruins of which delight the modern observer. It was characterized by a fantastic mythology and a somewhat sensuous idolatry. It produced, in addition to the old code of Manu, a further set of regulations under the name of Yajnavalkya. Minute ceremonial observance, varying for every class cramped the soul. Thus the spirit of the people was enslaved their sentiments were cramped, and their thoughts awestruck. Their mind was turned to superstitious requirements rather than to the practical questions of public life. Their society was further en-

* Mon er Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 55

feebled by the subjection of women. Maternal and conjugal influence must have existed, but in an irresponsible way. Each one of the countless sections of the community, each tribe or class, each cousinhood descending from a common ancestor, within its narrow circle became tenacious of its own traditions, guarding them against all the world and caring little for anything extraneous. Hence arose the system of village communities which was consolidated and hardened by the recurring troubles of the time. Each community was a brotherhood within its village only, with cohesion like that of a square of infantry. This institution saved Hindu society during the convulsions of the eleventh and succeeding centuries. But a society thus constituted was manifestly a ready prey for northern invaders. During the latter part of this era there were apparently some internal revolutions among the Hindus themselves.'¹

VII PERIOD OF MOHAMMEDAN RULE 1001 1761 A D

From the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion in 1001 and even before that date Indian annals become definite, and the accuracy of modern history takes the place of the guesses and the conflicting chronology that color its early annals.

I Character of Mohammedan Conquests — A common misconception of the character of the Mohammedan domination in India is removed by Sir William Hunter's words. "The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Musalmans is opposed to the historical facts. Mohammedan rule in India consists of a series of invasions and partial conquests during eight centuries from Subuktigin's inroad in 977 to Ahmad Shah's tempest of invasion in 1761 A D. These invasions represent in Indian history the overflow of the nomad tribes of Central

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* vol vi p 217

Asia, towards the southeast, as the Huns, Turks, the various Tartar tribes disclose in early European annals the westward movements from the same great breeding ground of nations. At no time was Islam triumphant throughout the whole of India. Hindu dynasties always ruled over large areas. At the height of the Mohammedan power, the Hindu princes paid tribute, and sent agents to the Imperial court. But even this modified supremacy of Delhi did not last for 150 years (1560-1707). Before the end of that brief period, the Hindus had begun the work of reconquest. The Hindu chivalry of Rajputana was closing in upon Delhi from the south, the religious confederation of the Sikhs was growing into a military power on the northwest. The Marathas had combined the fighting powers of the low castes with the statesmanship of the Brahmans and were subjecting the Mohammedan kingdoms throughout all India to tribute.¹

² *Moslem Rulers* — The rulers of these seven and a half centuries were of different nationalities. Of the eight houses or dynasties, four were Turki, two were Afghan, one was Sayyid, and one Mongol. All the invaders entered via the Northwest Passes and Delhi was the commonest seat of power. The seven earlier dynasties possessed one common characteristic, namely a fanatical Mohammedanism which caused them to look upon Indian races as infidels and an abomination.

Tamerlane and Baber — Individual mention cannot be made of the many potentates who reigned during this period. The most famous of them belonged to the Mogul — Mongol — house of Timur, the last of the eight dynasties. As early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Genghis Khan had brought his Mongol hordes into Northwestern India on a brief foray. In 1398-99 Timur, better known as Tamerlane, "Timur, the Lame" conquered the territory between the Indus and the lower

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p. 323

Ganges, retiring from there to his capital Samarkand with a fabulous amount of booty. Though he had proclaimed himself emperor at Delhi, the title lapsed till his grandson Baber revived it and became the first bearer of the famous title, the Great Mogul.

Akbar the Great — It was his grandson, Akbar the Great, who in 1556—two years before Queen Elizabeth ascended England's throne—began his almost half-century reign, which revealed him as perhaps the greatest sovereign India ever had, as well as the greatest Asiatic monarch of modern times. This great conqueror and civil administrator of the Empire died in 1605, two years later than Queen Elizabeth. This was the fifth year after the British East India Company came into existence, and the fourth from the day when the first English ships touched India's shores. The architecture of his noble mausoleum near Agra, which is adorned with mingled Buddhist and Arabesque designs, testifies to the Catholic faith of one who was born a Mohammedan. Lord Tennyson's poem, *Akbar's Dream*, reminds one of Sir William Hunter's prose. "Akbar's conciliation of the Hindus, and his interest in their literature and religion, made him many enemies among the pious Musalmans. His favorite wife was a Rajput princess, another of his wives is said to have been a Christian, and he ordered his son, Prince Murad when a child, to take lessons in Christianity. On Fridays—the Sabbath of Islam—he loved to collect professors of many religions around him. He listened impartially to the arguments of the Brahman and the Musalman, the Parsee, the ancient fire-worshiper, the Jew, the Jesuit, and the skeptic philosopher. The history of his life, the '*Akbar-namah*,' records such a conference in which the Christian priest Rishi disputed with a holy of Mohammedan mullas before an assembly of the doctors of all religions and is given the best of the argument."¹

¹ Hunter, *Indian Empire* p. 350

India, yet between the years 1661 and 1669 they added to their own colonies there all the early settlements of the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast, as well as St Thome and Macassar. Their short-sighted commercial policy, which staked all on an unjust monopoly of the spice trade, and their great cruelty toward commercial rivals, led to the loss of their supremacy. The company's death knell "was sounded by Clive when, in 1759, he attacked the Dutch at Chinsurah, both by land and sea, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation"¹

3 *The Danes, 1616 1845* — Though the two Danish settlements founded in 1616 by the Danish East India Company at Tranquebar and Serampore, which were purchased by the English in 1845, were never of great commercial or political importance, they have a large place in the history of Protestant missions, as will be seen. Other settlements were Porto Novo, Eddova, and Holcheri.

4 *The French, 1674* — Five East Indian Companies were formed by the French, the first in 1604, yet the earlier ones were mere trading schemes with no permanent settlements in India. Not until the last of these was founded in 1664 with the intention of rivaling the English and Dutch commercial achievements, did France have a strong base at Pondicherry, acquired in 1674. Two later governors of French factories and possessions, Dumas and Dupleix, "first conceived the idea of founding an Indian empire upon the ruins of the Mogul dynasty, and for a time the French nation successfully contended with the English for the supremacy of the East"². The treaty of Paris 1763 conceded to England what the genius of Dupleix had earlier secured for France. By the later treaties of 1814 and 1815 she to day possesses five separate dependencies in India with an area of a little less than 200 square miles, having a population of 273,000.

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p 426

² *Ibid.*, p 426

5 *The Germans, 1722-1793* — The German or Ostend Company, incorporated in 1722, was far more substantial than Carlyle pictures it in his satirical account of the Empire, Karl IV and his "Third Shadow Hunt". Its two settlements were regarded with hatred and fear by the English, Dutch, and French, and returned to the promoters a very handsome profit. Jealousies of the powers, diplomatic contests in Europe, and native opposition fomented by European courts led to their final extinction in 1793.

6 *Minor Attempts* — Less important attempts, partly abortive, were made by Prussia in 1753 and by Sweden in 1731, the latter being the last nation of Europe to engage in maritime trade with India, the company having been reorganized in 1805.

7 *Causes of Continental Failure* — The nations of continental Europe, whose main object was a selfish one, that of territorial expansion and commercial aggrandizement, failed to largely benefit or affect India. The causes of failure are thus stated by the greatest authority on India. "The Portuguese failed, because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength — the conquest and the conversion of India. Their memorials are the epic of the Lusads, the death roll of the Inquisition, an indigent half-easte population and three decayed patches of territory on the Bombay coast. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent, because their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. Their monopoly however, still flourishes in their isolated island dominion of Java. The French failed in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of their generals from want of steady support at home. Their ablest Indian servants fell victims to a corrupt court and a careless people. Their surviving settlements disclose that talent for careful administration

¹ Carlyle *History of Frederick II of Prussia* 3rd ed., vol. 1, pp. 553-557.

which, but for French monarchs and their ministers and their mistresses might have been displayed throughout a wide Indian Empire. The German Companies, whether Austrian or Prussian, were sacrificed to the diplomatic necessities of their royal patrons in Europe, and to the dependence of the German States in the wars of the last century upon the maritime powers. But the Germans have never abandoned the struggle. The share in the Indian trade which Prussian King and Austrian Kaiser failed to grasp in the eighteenth century, has been gradually acquired by German merchants in our own day.¹

IX THE BRITISH IN INDIA

1 *Early English Attempts* — Early attempts of England to reach India were directed to the Northwest Passage around the Arctic shores of America. Though unsuccessful, John Cabot and his sons discovered thereby Newfoundland, and sailed as far south as Virginia. Later English attempts to reach tropical India via the Arctic have left on American maps the names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Another fruitless attempt to reach the same goal was through the Arctic waters of Europe and Asia, an attempt that ended at Archangel in Russia. Thomas Stephens an Oxford Jesuit, was the first modern Englishman to reach the Indian peninsula in 1579. He was followed by a few of his fellow countrymen, but it was not until 1699, when the Dutch raised the price of pepper from 3s to 6s and 8s, that indignant London merchants arose in protest and succeeded on the last day — or last day but one — of the seventeenth century in launching the English East India Company.

2 *East India Company, 1600-1857 — Overcoming Rivals* — This greatest factor in India's modern history, while trading to a limited extent with India from the

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p. 440

first nevertheless centered its interests in the East Indian Archipelago. Being driven out by the bitter and cruel opposition of the Dutch in 1664 it began in earnest to found settlements on the Indian seaboard. This led to serious conflicts both diplomatic and martial with the Dutch Portuguese and French interests. One after another these powers gave way before British diplomacy and arms until the last Occidental foe yielded with the capitulation of the hill fortress of Gingi in 1761. That day terminated the long hostilities between two rival European powers in Coromandel and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India.¹

Eight Makers of British India — But a more serious task confronting the Company was that of overcoming the opposition of native rulers and their armies and the developing of their territory when acquired. This extension of territory and assumption of power both on the part of the Company and later by the Government were not necessarily due to greed but were often demanded by moral obligations. Eight names stand forth with a special prominence between 1757 the date of the momentous battle of Plassey and 1857 when the Sepoy mutiny ended in the passing of the Company. *Robert Clive* had reached Madras penniless to enter the service of John Company as a writer. He was moved to suicide by the drudgery of such a life but the repeated failure of his pistol to do its work extorted the exclamation. It appears I am destined for something. I will live. And he did live to be known to the Hindus as *Sabat Jung* the daring in war and to the Occident as the hero of Plassey and the founder of Britain's Indian Empire. *Warren Hastings* preserved for England during a world crisis the Empire which Clive had founded. The seven long years of his remarkable trial so

¹ Orme *History of Military Transactions in Indostan* Madras Reprint vol. p. 733

well known through Macaulay's untrustworthy essay, ended in acquittal, and proved the greatness of his genius and the inestimable value of his Indian administration. In the words of H. G. Keene "It was felt by those persons who knew or cared about the matter at all that the alleged errors of Hastings were overbalanced by great public services. He had prevailed in war, he had left Bengal at peace, he had organized the administration in all its branches, he had fostered learning, above all, he had founded an empire which no one thought of abandoning." *Charles Cornwallis*, whose defeat at Yorktown proved as ruinous to the British cause in America as his Governor-Generalship of India was of value to the Company and to England extended the dominion founded and preserved by Clive and Hastings. *Lord Wellesley* went to India "inspired with Imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in India, and that native princes could only retain the personal insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the first of January, 1877." *The Marquis of Hastings*, who had prepared himself for his Indian Governor-Generalship by fighting in the Revolutionary War from Bunker Hill to Charleston succeeded in converting the brave mountaineers of Nepal into the staunchest of British allies, and later in 1818 his forces crushed out the Maratha confederacy, the last opponents, and absorbed their territory. The map of India, as changed by Lord Hastings, remained unaltered until 1848, and it was his proudest boast that he and Sir John Malcolm "had conferred the blessings of

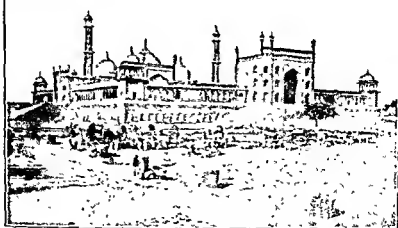
¹ *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* vol. v. p. 581

² Hunter, *Indian Empire* p. 464

peace and good government upon millions who groined under the exactions of the Marhattas and Pindaris. Other makers of India were *Lord Amherst* by whom the dominion was extended into Lower Burma in 1825 and *Lord William Bentinck* upon whose Calcutta statue are inscribed Macaulay's words. He abolished cruel rites, he effaced humiliating distinctions, he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion, his constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge. *Lord Dalhousie* the greatest of Indian proconsuls added four extensive kingdoms besides a number of principalities to the Queen's dominions. More important however than territorial acquisitions which were secured partly against his will were those internal improvements and the abolition of manifold wrongs which marked his beneficent rule.

Sepoy Mutiny — In 1857 occurred the Sepoy Mutiny just a century after the battle of Plassey and 200 years from the time when the Maratha struck a deadly blow at the Mohammedan power. Its varied causes — prominent among which were the conquests of Dalhousie and his introduction of the elements of modern civilization supposed by the Hindus to be inimical to their best interests — indicate the breaking up of the old order and the coming of the new. Despite the horrors of that time — strangely parallel to those of the Chinese Boxer Uprising in 1900 — the event marks an epoch in India's history. With it came the dissolution of the East India Company and the open assumption in 1858 by the English crown of powers that had been really accumulating with each renewal of the Company's charter and the consequent necessity for increasing support by royal troops.

3 *India's Expansion Since 1857* — During the past forty five years Britain's power and influence in India have constantly increased. On January 1 1877 Queen



Mausoleum of Akbar the Great, near Agra



Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the historic ridge overlooking the Mogul capital of Delhi. The last portion of Burma remaining unconquered became part of the Indian Empire in 1886, and the British sphere of influence has been extended northwest to include a good share of Baluchistan and a fringe of Afghanistan. While the native states still contain two fifths of India's territory and more than one fifth of its population, their relation to British rule is a close and helpful one and they share, to a considerable extent, in the advantages accruing to subjects on British territory.

4 *Native Views of British Rule* — What the Hindus have become under British rule will be seen in subsequent chapters. Suffice it here to give the opinion of an enlightened Hindu leader, Babu S. N. Banerji. "As a representative of the educated community of India,—and I am entitled to speak on their behalf and in their name,—I may say that we regard British rule in India as a dispensation of Divine Providence. England is here for the highest and the noblest purposes of history. She is here to rejuvenate an ancient people, to infuse into them the vigor, the virility, and the robustness of the West, and so pay off the long standing debt, accumulating since the morning of the world, which the West owes to the East. We are anxious for the permanence of British rule in India, not only as a guarantee for stability and order, but because with it are bound up the best prospects of our political advancement. Marvelous as have been the industrial achievements of the Victorian Era in India, they sink into insignificance when compared with the great moral trophies which distinguish that epoch. Roads have been constructed, rivers have been spanned, telegraph and railway lines have been laid down, time and space have been annihilated, Nature and the appliances of Nature have been made to minister to the wants of man. But these are nothing when compared to the bold, decisive,

statesmanlike measures which have been taken in hand for the intellectual the moral and the political regeneration of my countrymen Under English influences the torpor of ages has been dissipated the pulsations of a new life have been communicated to the people, an inspiring sense of public duty has been evolved the spirit of curiosity has been stirred and a moral revolution the most momentous in our annals culminating in the transformation of national ideals and aspirations has been brought about¹

¹ Jones *India's Problem* pp. 31-32

III

RACES AND THE COMMON LIFE

THE preceding chapter has furnished the historical background and interpretation of what will here be said of the peoples and life of India to day. Their diverse origin and environment make it almost impossible to speak in anything more than a general way of their character and life. The reader must refer to accounts of the different races for definite statements concerning them.

I SOME FACTS BASED ON THE CENSUS

1 *Census of 1901* — One of the most remarkable achievements in census taking ever recorded was accomplished during the month of March, 1901, when a vast army of enumerators learned the leading facts concerning the 294,361,056¹ inhabitants of India. It is one of many indications of Britain's superb organization of the forces in her peninsular Empire.

Comparisons — This population excelled only by that of China, is two and a third times that of the Russian Empire, and nearly four times as large as the population of the United States. It is almost exactly seven times as great as that of the British Isles. One fifth of the inhabitants of the globe are consequently under consideration when one studies India, a fact that should be impressed indelibly upon the Christian's memory.

¹ *Statesman's Year-Book 1903* p. 135. Unless otherwise stated the India statistics of the present chapter will be quoted from this source.

2 *Distribution — British and Native Possessions* — Roughly speaking, these multitudinous millions are distributed between the native states and the British provinces in the ratio of one to four, the states having a population of 62 461,549, while the British provinces have 231,899,507 inhabitants. About four-fifths of the people of India are thus directly amenable to English authority, while the remaining fifth is largely influenced through English laws and friendly supervision.

Urban and Rural Distribution — Even more important from the missionary point of view are the facts concerning urban and rural distribution. In 1901 there was a population of 29 244 221 in the 2,148 towns classed as urban, 570 of which contained less than 5 000 inhabitants each. This means that more than nine tenths of the people live in villages and hamlets and that there were but few large cities — only thirty one — of over 100 000 inhabitants in 1901.

Comparative Density — The average density of population for the entire Empire in 1901 was 167 per square mile, while that of Ontario and Quebec in the same year was 676 per square mile and the population of the British Isles was a little more than twice as dense as in India — 343.9 per square mile. In 1900 the United States had 21.4 inhabitants per square mile, about one eighth of the density of India's population.

Differing Indian Densities — The native states are less than half as populous as the British provinces, the average per square mile in native territory being ninety two, while in the British provinces it is 213. The most populous regions are those of the Ganges valley and the coast districts of the Deccan while the most sparsely settled sections are in the northwestern part of India. The density of Bengal province, including its feudatory states, is 494 per square mile while Bengal proper has 588 as compared with Rhode Island's 407, England and Wales' 558 and Belgium's 589 per square mile. Hence next to Belgium,

the Nile valley, and the great plain of China, Bengal proper is the most densely peopled section of the globe of any considerable size

3 *Foreigners in the Empire* — India, unlike South America and Africa, is a mission field that will never be largely affected by accession to its population from other lands. So far as numbers are concerned they are a negligible quantity. Thus in 1901 the total number of persons not born in India, including the French and Portuguese possessions was only 641,854 or one foreigner to every 459 of the population. Yet it is true that this small percentage is vastly more influential than numbers would suggest. They are India's rulers, teachers, and captains of industry and commerce. Omitting all reference to the missionaries, and aside from the political, industrial and commercial relations of these immigrants which are usually helpful, their presence is often an evil. Not a few of them have exerted an unfortunate influence, especially in increasing intemperance.

4 *Emigration* — Thus far emigration has not affected to any appreciable degree the population of India. Few of the higher classes leave their country, as the obstacles due to caste regulations are very serious. Coolie emigration is likewise small, averaging during the years 1897-1901 only 13,874 per annum. Most of these go to the British colonies in Africa, the South Seas and the West Indies where the moral influences are not much better than in their native land, hence on their return they do not improve its morale, nor are they otherwise helpful as a result of their wider contact with the world. It is not probable that India will ever become through emigration a great factor in the life of other Asiatic countries or of any portion of the globe. The Hindus, therefore, are not as strategic a people to win as are the Japanese and Chinese, either as apostles of a new religion, or as propagators of their own faith.

5 *Vital Statistics* — Some particulars are called for as to the vital statistics of India. A comparison of census data for 1891 and 1901 shows a net increase in the Empire of 7 046 385. There was an addition during these years of nearly eleven millions in the British provinces and a decrease of nearly four millions in the native states. Famine and plague have been unusually severe yet even bearing these in mind an increase of about two and a half per cent in a decade is small compared with a gain during the same years of 99 per cent in the British Isles from which a large emigration was going on.

Prevalent Diseases — An examination of the official list of diseases causing death during the years 1882-1890 indicates that by far the largest proportion of serious cases to be treated by the medical missionary is the result of fevers. Cholera comes next followed by bowel complaints, smallpox and injuries. All other fatal cases constituted only about one fifth of those in the entire list. More than a quarter of those born die during their first year, the great mortality of infants being largely due to improper sanitation and insufficient nourishment.

II THE RACES OF INDIA

1 *Some Statistics* — The last Indian census divides those races having a population of over one million into three great language groups, namely the Indo-Chinese originally inhabiting the northern and northeastern borders and numbering 11 71 millions, the Dravido-Munda originally of the Deccan with 59 69 millions, and the Indo-Aryan originally of the northern half of India with 221 15 millions. While language is not always a safe criterion for racial variations, especially when different peoples have been living beside one another for thousands of years, it will serve for the purpose now in mind.

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* p. 771.

2 *Physical Qualities* — The appearance of these race stocks varies with environment and occupation, as well as because of fundamental racial peculiarities. 'Even in a given village differences will be noted that would put to the blush any attempt at a scientific description of its inhabitants. Perhaps nothing more definite can be stated than what Sir Richard Temple has compressed into a few lines. Physical traits "vary together with race and climate. The stature is often tall in the North, and short in the South—very much as in Europe. Strength does not depend on height, of course. The Nepalese are short, so are the Mahrattas, both are strong. As a rule strength with courage is found more in the North than in the South, but least perhaps in the Gangetic delta. Bengal is the only large province that furnishes no recruits to the army. Physical endurance, the power of making protracted bodily exertion with but scanty sustenance is perceptible everywhere in some places it is extraordinary, and rarely to be equalled in any country. As a point of comparison a native has hardly half the strength or nervous force of a European, perhaps not more than one third, his work comparatively would be in the same proportion'.¹ Professor Ratzel gives a somewhat more definite picture of the Indo Aryans, who constitute more than seven tenths of the entire population. "The Hindu of Aryan type is brown from dark to coffee colored, darker as a rule in low than in high castes, of medium height, with sleek black hair handsome oval face, thin often slightly curved nose beard and hair less close than in Europeans. The eyes are large and almond shaped the lips pronounced the chin weak. The form especially in the women, is often very beautiful, but the legs are weakened by long continuance in a squatting posture. The skull is a fine oval of small or medium size the forehead not strongly marked. Hindus of higher castes in European dress most resemble Greeks

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopedia* vol. vi, p. 304

The qualities termed principle and public spirit in Western phrase cannot be predicated of any class. Deep attachment to the ancestral religion takes the place of patriotism. 'Dharm' to the Hindu, and 'Din' to the Mohammedan mean virtue under a religious sanction. In justice to the women, it must be said that, despite their subjection and seclusion, they have shown courageous fortitude in times of danger and charitable munificence when endowed with means.¹

5 *Wild Tribes* — Those peoples who most interest foreigners because of their nearness to nature or lack of cultivation are the small non-Aryan tribes and nationalities which do not figure largely in accounts of the country. Among these are the isolated *Andaman Islanders* in the Bay of Bengal, who when first met by the English, were naked cannibals of great ferocity. They daubed themselves with red earth and in times of mourning donned a suit of olive colored mud. To express friendship or joy they made a noise like weeping. Their names were of a common gender and were given before birth. As for religion, their sole conception of a god was that of an evil spirit who spread diseases. Though after half a century of English rule they have become somewhat civilized, they are yet sunk in deepest degradation.

Anamalai Hill Tribes — In Southern Madras on the Anamalai Hills there is a whole series of broken tribes. Hamlets of long haired Pulhars live on jungle products mice, or any small animals that they can catch, and worship demons. The thick lipped, small bodied Kaders are a remnant of a higher race, who file the front teeth of the upper jaw as a marriage ceremony.

The Leaf wearers of Orissa — In the tributary state of Orissa is the interesting tribe of Juangs or Patuas, literally the "leaf wearers." Their women formerly wore no clothing, their only vestige of covering being a few strings of

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* vol vi, p 104

beads around the waist with bunches of leaves attached. Until quite lately they have had no knowledge of the metals but instead used flint weapons thus representing the Stone Age in our own day. Sir William Hunter quotes this statement concerning their habitations. Their huts are among the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about six feet by eight. The head of the family and all the females huddle together in this one shell not much larger than a dog kennel.¹ Other peoples quite as interesting are living outside the pale of Christian interests though efforts are being made to reach them by various missions.

6 *Wild Tribes vs Hindus* — The advantages and disadvantages of missionary labor among the wild tribes as contrasted with those for the civilized races are brought out in the following statement concerning the difference between the Hindus and these tribes. (1) The Hindus have division of caste the aborigines have no caste. (2) The Hindu widows do not remarry the widows of the aborigines do remarry mostly taking the younger brothers of their former husbands. (3) The Hindus venerate the cow and abstain from beef the aborigines feed on all flesh alike. (4) The Hindus abstain from intoxicating drinks the aborigines delight in them and even their religious ceremonies are not complete without them. (5) The Hindus prepare their own food or take only what has been prepared by a higher caste the aborigines partake of food prepared by any one. (6) The Hindus do not shed blood habitually but no ceremony of the aborigines is complete without the shedding of blood. (7) The Hindus have a caste of priests the aborigines select their priests out of those particularly skilled in magic sorcery or divination or in curing diseases. (8) The Hindus burn their dead the aborigines mostly bury their dead. (9) The Hindu civil institutes are municipal those of the aborigines are

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 7 p. 777

spoken by about sixty five per cent of the people of the Empire. The great body of modern Indian speech is made up of words similar in nature or origin to the corresponding ones in Sanskrit while in the vocabulary of religion philosophy and abstract ideas identical terms are imported from that language¹. Even Tamil a Dravidian tongue is said to contain forty per cent of Sanskrit². Apart from the value of this tongue as containing most of the sacred books and as giving prestige to the missionary who has mastered it it is an actual aid to language study particularly in Northern India.

Hindi and Hindustani — The language most widely spoken and ranking first among Indian vernaculars in strength and dignity is Hindi with its cognate form of speech known as Hindustani or Urdu. It prevails through most of Northern India except in the border regions. Through the early Mohammedan conquerors in the North Persian and Arabic were introduced while the conquered used Hindi. The constant mingling of the races particularly in the camps modified each form of speech and resulted in a composite known as Urdu — camp language — or Hindustani.

English — Though twenty five Indian languages are native to a larger number than is English it is nevertheless the language of the Government and of the higher education. Being acquired from literature that is largely classical and from foreign instructors who are purists to a large degree or else from native teachers who have acquired it in the way described the better educated have an English pronunciation and vocabulary that evoke admiration. Of course those who merely dabble with the language seem to be speaking pidgin English as they say towel for towel buckus for box Markeen for American etc. The semi philosophical character of Indian students as they study

Hurter *Indian Emp* pp 39 398

² *Principal Nations of India* p 14

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English is reflected in the following definitions of vice and beauty found in an examination paper of a student of Madras University *Vice* — Whatever may be the vices they still have outwardly some mark of virtue *Beauty* — Some girls buy the powder at bazaar to rub their faces with it so that they may look more beautiful By so doing old men also appear young which is a work of miracle in nature and those who desire to be beautiful wore curled snaky hair of another woman who is dead They who wear most of it are heavy physically and morally light

3 *Vernacular Literature* — While English will ever increase in prevalence and influence the great work of missions must always be accomplished through the vernaculars With each year the native press is increasing its output and consequent power During 1901 the number of vernacular newspapers published was 774 in nineteen languages or dialects The daily having the largest circulation was the *Gurakhs* of Bombay with about 5 000 copies per issue while the weekly standing foremost was the *Dasumats* of Calcutta with 17 000 copies In 1900 there were in India 2 198 presses at work and in addition to 1 146 newspapers and periodicals—including English—which were printed 8 036 books were published Of these 6 807 were in Indian languages

Need of Better Literature — With the fifteen million readers in India to day the need of a higher grade of vernacular literature is made evident by the considerations urged by Dr Jones The books which the Hindus have published in their vernaculars and which alone are accessible to the people are low in their tone and debasing in their morality even when they are not anti Christian and infidel in their aim and spirit There is great need that we supplant the unworthy trivial obscene books which find currency among the natives by a wholesome pure and

elevating Christian literature The minds of the people of that land are poisoned, beyond anything that we realize, by that debasing literature which is the product of their own faith and legends

Infidel Writings — "The enemies of our faith are active in India Anti-Christian and infidel literature is scattered broadcast over that land Bradlaugh, the high-priest, and Ingersoll, the prophet, of unbelief, are known all over India Their base and slanderous attacks upon our faith are there not only known in English, but they are translated into many of the vernaculars of the land I have seen extensive quotations from Ingersoll's 'Mistakes of Moses,' printed in tract form and scattered among the people in remote villages in South India Many of the people of that land learn of Christianity only through these translated diatribes of Western infidels"¹

IV THE COMMON LIFE

One cannot picture the common life of India within brief compass, differing so widely in its varied realms, unless the attempt be confined to the life of typical sections Here the necessary lack of detail is supplemented by the Indian fiction of to day, particularly that of Kipling, Mrs Steele, and Mr Forrest

1 *A Cosmopolitan City* — City life affects only the minority of India's inhabitants and is to some degree modified by contact with the Occident A peep into its capital reveals this life as most largely affected by European contact Calcutta is known as the city of palaces, mainly because it is so great a center for England's rulers and men of wealth Within its eight square miles — thirty with suburbs — are crowded over 1,100,000 inhabitants, very cosmopolitan in character, though mostly natives of Bengal

¹ *Missionary Review of the World* 1902 pp 513 514

European Section — In the European section of the city with its beautiful Maidan Esplanade, its official buildings and abodes of wealth, its great fort and its gardens, we have little to do since they remind one of a modified England rather than of India. The foreign residences are detached and stand in ample grounds. The Doric pillars, flat roofs, and plastered walls, set off by green blinds, are suggestive of coolness, an object of desire in that hot climate. There are no cellars or basements, since, in the rainy season, the water is only three or four feet from the surface. The two or three stories are devoted to the various purposes of a wealthy home, and the furnishings correspond with the means of the owner. Broad verandas are a feature in many homes and the housetop is a place of common resort.

The Native City — In the native portion of the city such innovations as Victoria Square give place to old names, as the Barber's Bazaar and the Brahman's Village. Calcutta being so comparatively recent a city, there are few buildings more than a century old. One is struck at the outset by the fact that all of a tradesman's goods are exposed to view out in front, where he sits or stands selling his wares, often in very small quantities. Some sales are so limited in value that they are paid for in cowries, 100 of which are worth about a cent. Another striking feature is the method of carrying on the work in the open shops, which are at once salesrooms and manufactories. In some of the narrow streets European and Asiatic goods are for sale, the resort of most travelers.

Homes of Wealth — The homes of the wealthy natives in Calcutta impress the traveler with their size. This is a necessity, since the family system of India may sometimes make it necessary to furnish accommodations for 200 people. These homes consist of two or more courts, one behind the other. The front one is occupied by the gentlemen of the family. The rear of the quadrangle contains a

room or a platform intended for worship to the latticed galleries of which the women of the household living in the quadrangle behind have access. Back of the women's quadrangle there is sometimes a walled enclosure containing a tank for bathing.

Houses of the Poor — A vast majority of the homes in Calcutta are of a very different style. They are structures of mud or matting with tiled or thatched roof and with only a little lattice work to admit light and air. Some of them are without even this convenience so that when the doors are closed they are quite dark within. They may likewise have a veranda where guests of the family are received. Each one of the houses thus described is the home of a family, and its furnishings are very meager.

2 *A Southern Village* — The majority of the missionaries and their converts are found in the southern half of India and nearly all of the Christians call the village their home. Since about nine tenths of the inhabitants of the Empire live in these little centers of life the village is worthy of special mention. A native writer Mr. Rama Krishna speaks of the average hamlet as containing some fifty or sixty houses. A cluster of trees consisting of the tamarind mango cocoanut plaintain and other useful Indian trees, a group of dwellings some thatched and some tiled, a small temple in the center—these surrounded on all sides by about 500 acres of green fields and a large tank capable of watering those 500 acres of land for about six months—this is the village. Scarcely any one lives isolated outside the hamlet because of the greater protection afforded from the lawless in a center of life. The houses are of one story and have mud walls and a thatched or tiled roof, though the latter is an extravagance which only the well-to-do can afford. The front walls may be decorated with vertical stripes about a foot wide red alternating with white. More commonly however utility

rather than ornamentation is consulted and the front of the house is covered with cakes of cow manure, which dry in the sun so as to become fit for fuel. The limited space around the house is occupied by cattle-stalls and grain bins. Not far away is the village tank for washing clothes, watering cattle, and irrigating fields. The village well, patronized by the higher castes, the bazaar or market place, where the few articles required by the inhabitants are sold, stray donkeys grazing near by, a few starving dogs, and an abundance of dusky children in nature's garb, are other details in the picture.

House Interior — The interior of the average native house is even more unattractive than its rude exterior. Chairs and tables there are none. A low stool, a rude cot always shorter than a man and without mattress, a loose mat for the accommodation of visitors, a box or two for storing away jewels, best clothing, and other valuables and innumerable earthen pots for holding rice and other provisions complete the stock of furniture, but not all the other stock. Cows, calves, buffaloes, bullocks, and fowls are received upon terms of the greatest familiarity in the ordinary Hindu house and generally occupy a conspicuous place in the very bosom of the family.¹

3 *Hindu Family System* — We are not to understand by the word family what is included in that term in the Occident. In India the joint family system prevails, according to which its members for three generations live together, where this is possible. Not only do they dwell together, but they hold all things in common, no member of it having the right to claim anything as his own. We thus have in India the patriarchal system, which minimizes the individual and magnifies the family unit. With the incoming of Western ideas, the educated classes of the Empire are becoming restive but steps have been taken to modify the whole regime. "The recent introduction to the Ma

¹ Rowe *Every Day Life in India* pp. 30, 31.

dras Legislature of the so called *Guns of Learning Bill* is the first serious attack made upon that system. By means of this bill which was introduced by an orthodox Hindu but which is not yet passed an educated man could claim exclusive right to ownership of all properties acquired by him through his education. Thus for the first time in India an individual might claim apart from the family that wealth which was acquired by himself. This bill has brought opposition from the public because it conflicts with the rights of the joint family and is a serious blow to all the old Hindu family privileges. The Hindu joint family system while it has been a source of some blessing to the land has also been a serious curse in that it has fostered laziness dissension and improvidence and has put a ban upon individual initiative and ambition. It should be added that the system above described affects mainly the higher grades of society. The laboring classes usually live separately as in other countries.

4 *India's Women* — The low place given to women in the family is the primal cause of India's degradation if Tennyson's lines are true

The woman's cause is man's they rise or sink
Together d darded or godlike bond or free
If she be small slight natured miserable
How shall men grow?

From the hour when the infant girl's advent is reported by the disappointed father as the birth of nothing and regarded as due to the anger of offended deities to the day of a Hindu woman's death she endures deprivations and actual wrongs which would be insufferable in an enlightened community. It is true that some of these wrongs are imperfectly understood in the West. Thus the horrors of zenana life which are often measured by exaggerated illustrations affect only a fraction of Indian women the re

mainder moving about almost as freely as in other lands. The real evil of the zenana system consists in the fact which causes it namely the lust of evil men and the polygamy of the household or the joint family system which necessitate the seclusion of their women. The high born lady herself however often regards her narrow and irksome life as a badge of rank and a cause for congratulation.

Women Admired and Honored — Western travelers recall with delight the beauty of many Indian women despite the blemishes of reddened finger nails saffron dyed faces throat bedaubed with red ocher and a wealth of clumsy jewelry including iron rings among the poorer classes. It is also to be noted that the female in India as in no other country holds a large place in the worship of the people. The famous reformer Keshab Chander Sen though using the Lord's Prayer nevertheless felt so deeply the power of the fact just mentioned that he changed its first sentence to "Our mother who art in heaven"¹. Missionaries also are not slow to render these women high honor as witness these testimonies. Such extraordinary accounts of the condition of Hindu women have found their way into English print that the European new comers greatest surprise is to find them so much like their sisters in other parts of the world. He observes in them many of the graces virtues and whims which belong to women in European countries. Still they are not the slaves — the miserable victims of men and of gods — which our early reading led us to picture them. It is true that women do not receive that respect and consideration here which they meet with in European countries but it does not follow that they are unhappy in consequence of the neglect². Generally speaking woman is the redeeming feature of India. Usually she is devoted to her husband.

¹ Jones *India's Problem* pp. 149, 150.

² Rowe *Every Day Life in India* p. 89.

band, a passionate lover of her children, the conservator of society, the true devotee in religion'¹

The Obverse — Zenana Women — This, however, is less than half the truth. Beginning with the zenana life, we note the claim that "it has now become to India ladies a part and parcel of their creed. Modesty, in a word, is to them the very breath of their nostrils. To do away with it is a violation of one of the virtues of a woman." But what of their virtual imprisonment, injurious to themselves and to their children? What of the ever-present consciousness of their sex and their fear of man? One consequence of such an emphasis is expressed in the words of the Indian writer. "Instead of promoting virtue, it has tended to make the imagination prurient." Think, too, of the narrow horizon of thought and activity of these prisoners without hope. One does not wonder at the oft quoted statement of the well known traveler, Mrs Bishop, when to the deprivations already named are added the heart burnings of polygamous households. "I have lived in zenanas," she writes, "and can speak from experience of what the lives of secluded women can be, the intellect so dwarfed that a woman of twenty or thirty is more like a child while all the worst passions of human nature are developed and stimulated, jealousy, envy, murderous hate intrigue running to such an extent that in some countries I have hardly ever been in a woman's house without being asked for drugs to disfigure the favorite wife, or take away her son's life. This request has been made of me nearly one hundred times. This is a natural product of a system that we ought to have subverted long ago."

Early Marriage and Widowhood — Without speaking of the host of women who leave home to preder to the gods and godless men one can not but think of the millions of Indian women who endure the sorrows incident

¹ Jones *India's Problem* p. 151

² Fuller *Brongs of Indian Civilization* p. 97

to child marriage. A girl may be betrothed as soon as born, though her second and real marriage may not occur until she is ten or more. Too often becoming a mother before she is mature enough to endure the strain, she goes through life a victim of brutal lust, it may be of a man several times her own age. There are two other things even worse than this. It may happen that no one is found to marry her, and as custom requires her to have a husband, she becomes, in Bengal at least, the wife of a professional bridegroom of the Brahman caste. He will marry any number of women and girls for a suitable fee, seeing his wives occasionally, or perhaps never after the wedding day. The other greatly dreaded wrong is that of child widowhood, which, in multitudinous cases is her lot, even though she may never have been married, her betrothed having died in boyhood. As in 1891 there were in India 22 700 000 widows, one realizes the flood of misery that overspreads the land. Everywhere are shorn, jewelled, starving outcasts the ill-starred members of society, shunned by all except those base men for whom the word widow is synonymous with harlot. Those widows who have sons are an exception to others not so blessed.

Woman's Common Lot — What the masses of Hindu women endure is indicated in Bishop Caldwell's *Tinneelly Missions*. "If slavery means social degradation, Hindu women must be regarded as slaves, for not only are they denied equal rights with the men, but they are regarded as having no claim to any rights or feelings at all. The Hindu wife is not allowed to eat with her own husband; her duty is to wait upon her husband when he is eating and to eat what he has left. If they have any children, the boys eat with their father, and after they have done, the girls eat with their mother. Nor is this custom among the lower classes only, it is the custom amongst every class of Hindus, in every part of India where I have been

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powers are involved, the children of the higher castes are naturally superior to those who receive no intellectual heritage from scholarly ancestors, hence the lowest castes are not so hopeful from the intellectual viewpoint as are the Brahmans

6 *Caste—Its Degeneracy*—The preceding chapter has suggested the historical origin of the social distinction known to the West by the Portuguese term, *casta*, or caste and to the Hindus as *jati*, meaning race or class, or else as *varna*, color. The four clearly defined castes found in the *Laws of Manu*, namely, the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, are now not so distinct, and instead of four castes their number is legion. The Brahmans come nearest to being an exception to the rule,—though even they are subdivided into nearly 2 000 classes,—and so probably are the Rajputs, who claim to be the lineal descendants of the Kshatriyas. As for the Vaisyas and Sudras, they are endlessly subdivided and the early distinctions have ceased to exist. The successors of the ancient Sudras are the most numerous by far, and when added to the Pariahs or outcastes, they represent about nine tenths of the population.

Definition and Rationale—Indian caste of to day is a hereditary institution that is at once social, industrial, religious, and to some extent, racial in character. In the religious sense it would more properly be considered in the following chapter. The native view of caste is well set forth by Dr. Duff: "The great family of man, in the opinion of the Hindus, is made up of different genera and species each as essentially distinct from the rest as one genus or species of birds, beasts or fishes is from one another.

However closely different birds, beasts, and fishes may resemble each other in outward appearance and general characteristics, each kind will keep itself distinct by its food its habits, and its sympathies, will associate and congenialize with those of its own kind, in preference

and to the exclusion of others. It would be monstrous if the members of one genus would cease to resemble and unite with the members of its own genus and mix with and adopt the distinguishing marks and habits of another. It would be strange indeed were the lion to graze like an ox, or the ox to slay its prey like the lion. The special capabilities also of service to be derived from any particular genus or species of animals cannot be transferred to another. A sheep or an ox, for example, cannot be made to answer the same purpose as a horse. It would be unnatural to expect that an ox should carry a rider as swiftly as a horse can, and wrong to make the attempt to train him for the race-course.

Essential Factors — "Ideas somewhat akin to these seem to form the groundwork in the Hindu mind of the prevalent notions of caste, and may help to account for the fact that the points considered most essential in caste are food and its preparation, intermarriage within the same caste only, hereditary occupation, and a peculiar sympathy with the whole caste, which, taking the form of initiative-ness leads an individual Hindu to follow the example of his caste just as a sheep or a wild pigeon follows the example of the flock. These ideas also may so far explain the ground of the local variations observable in the custom and usages of the same caste. In one place a Hindu will consent to do what in another he would peremptorily refuse to do simply because in the former he is countenanced by the example of his brethren, and not in the latter, just as a flock of sheep or pigeons may from accidental causes somewhat vary its habits or movements in different localities."

Its Advantages — There are undoubtedly benefits connected with caste. Missionaries have noted its value in the matter of securing the economic advantages of division of labor and the protection coming from the larger

caste family. It promotes to some extent cleanliness and is a moral restraint in certain directions. It has also proven its value to the British Government from a political and police point of view. It has kept alive a learned class which might otherwise have been blotted out of existence. To the higher classes it has been a temperance element of great value in that it forbids the use of liquor. Caste has made the Hindus content with their lot and the system has always upheld a certain standard of morals by its exaction of obedience.

Its Evils — The evils of caste are endured without protest except among the more enlightened. Indeed some of the greatest sticklers for the institution are found among the very lowest even the outcastes. Some of the evils of the system in society and in the church are set forth in Canon Churton's paper on the subject. 'Bishop Heber called it an isthmus cast up between Christ and Belial, a bridge left standing for a retreat to paganism, a citadel kept erect within the Christian enclosure for the great adversary's occupation; this is what the Gospel can not tolerate.' Bishop Spencer said 'Idolatry and superstition are like the stones and brick of a large fabric and caste is the cement. Let us undermine the common foundation and both will tumble at once.' The keen discernment of Bishop Milman perceived at once that caste was the sinister influence that blighted the mission to the Santhals in Krishnagar. The Indian reformers differing in many ways are of one mind in denouncing caste as the great hindrance to progress and social and physical improvement. Babu¹ Nagarkar of Bombay at the Parliament of Religions maintained that the abolition of caste is the first item of the program of social reform in India. Caste, he said, 'has divided society into innumerable cliques and killed healthy enterprise. It is an unrooted evil and the veriest social and national curse.'

¹ He is a *mp* y Mr. and not Babu.

All our domestic degradation is due to this pernicious system."¹

Relation to Missions — For the missionary, though the system is indeed a most perplexing problem, it brings with it an element of hope, as Arthur has well shown. "Each family and each caste is impacted in itself, and concentered with all the others, each person forming but a particle of the mass. A man's mind consists of the traditions of the ancients, the usages of his caste, and the dogmas of his sect, independent principles, independent convictions, independent habits, he has none. You cannot move him without disintegrating the mass. It is no light work. A Hindu mind is not dissevered from the system but by the application of vast forces. Slowly and painfully it disengages itself, it halts and heaves and writhes before finally parting — and many treat this as an obstacle to the spread of Christianity in India. Is it so? Most indubitably, if the object of Christianity be to gain in a few years a given number of converts. But if her object be to pervade all the regions of Hindustan then the social bonds, which at first retard individual conversions so far from being obstacles to a universal revolution, are but agencies which infallibly conduct to the remotest depths of the country the impression made by the missionary at the surface. Where the population is limited and the relations of society are loose, it is, humanly speaking, comparatively easy to convert a man to Christianity. This conversion is of unspeakable importance, it saves a soul from death. But what relation has this event to the stability of Satan's empire in the continents that contain more than half the human family? Scarcely any. A jewel has been snatched from destruction but no stone struck from the foundation of the citadel of evil. Not so with the conversion of one forming part of

¹ *Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion of 1894* p. 108.

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¹ *Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion of 1894* p. 198



Yog Balman and His Wife



subject to an annual rent charge paid to the State. The whole country is thus under small holders having a hereditary interest in the land. The rest of the community group themselves about the landed classes, to whom they minister, being remunerated by a share in the arable land of the village, or else by receiving a proportion of the harvest of each landowner. Cash only occasionally enters into the matter. Artisans of a village rarely work for a wider market than their own community, being content with the patronage of their own friends.

Villagers — The Headman — The influential members of this miniature world are few, but they are an important factor in the missionary situation oftentimes, and always are worth considering. Monier Williams graphically describes these dignitaries.¹ At the apex is the headman or president, who is frequently illiterate. He is paid from a fixed proportion of the land and exercises the functions of a civic magistrate, somewhat as does the mayor of a Western town. "He is the chairman of the village or town council, called a panchayat, which often holds its sittings under a large tree. He decides disputes, apportions the labor and the amount of produce which each laborer is to receive as remuneration, and is responsible for the annual proportion due to the Government."

The Accountant — Next comes the accountant, or notary, who is often a Brahman and who transacts the village business, keeps the land accounts, and attends to the rents and assessments.

Village Priest — The village priest is a Brahman and is in many respects superior to the headman and the accountant. He officiates at weddings and other important family ceremonies and is always to be revered. "His anger is as terrible as that of the gods. His blessing makes rich his curse withers. Nay, more, he is actually worshiped as a god. No marvel, no prodigy in nature is believed to be

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* pp. 456-462

beyond the limits of his power to accomplish. If the priest were to threaten to bring down the sun from the sky, or to arrest its daily course in the heavens, no villager would for a moment doubt his ability to do so. The priest confers incalculable benefits upon the community of which he is a member by merely receiving their presents. A cow given to him secures heaven of a certainty to the lucky donor. The consequences of injuring him are terrific. The man who does him the smallest harm must make up his mind to be whirled about after death for at least a century in a hell of total darkness. This will suffice to account for the respect paid to the Brahman priest by the peasants who sometimes drink the water in which his feet have been washed by way of getting rid of their sins with the least possible difficulty.

The Astrologer — In some cases the priest is also the astrologer. As a chief part of the religion of the people is the fear of the evil influence of stars and planets, this divinity is constantly needed to determine lucky days for reaping and sowing and to counteract bad omens, such as a sudden sneeze the chirping of a lizard, or an envious look. 'He can cause diseases as well as cure them and can destroy life by the repetition of magical texts. He is I fear, the only physician. The true art of healing and sanitation is unknown.'

The Schoolmaster — Most villages also have a schoolmaster though here too the priest sometimes combines with his own this important office. A widespread tree or convenient shed furnishes a schoolroom where the alphabet may be scratched on leaves or on the dust of the ground. Deafening screams prove that his hopeful charges have mastered the multiplication table and the other rudiments of knowledge. Failure to satisfy this pedagogue may result in punishment, such as the culprits standing on one foot for half an hour or his hanging for a few minutes with his head downward from the limb of

a nearby tree. If two boys are involved, the penalty may be to knock their heads together several times.

Artisans — A number of other men are essential to the happiness of the dweller in this microcosm. The barber is a religious necessity, as shaving is required by the Hindu's faith. He also serves as a manicure and massagist and will crack the joints of a customer in a way to delight the most fastidious. Then there is the blacksmith with his hammer, tongs, file, and bellows, and his stone anvil. Sitting on his hams he deftly fashions hoop iron into bill-hooks, nails, and plow ferrules. The weaver is famous abroad as well as at home, for India was probably the first land to perfect weaving, and it is from that country that we get the word calico, i. e., Calicut goods, and chintz, the Sanskrit for variegated. The shoemaker, too, will turn out a respectable pair of shoes given time and advanced pay in order to buy a side of leather, and fashion from it the article desired with his rough last, knife and awl. The potter, albeit making little that can be classed among ceramics, is most useful in fabricating the rough domestic ware, which may be used only once and then shattered, and from that up to the earthenware floats used to ferry people across a swollen stream. In different spheres two other men are most useful to the community, the goldsmith, who converts into articles of adornment—and thus into a convenient form of treasure easily guarded from theft—the precious and baser metals, and the lowest of the village corps, as well as one of the most useful the serf or menial. He goes by many names, but a common one, coohe, indicates by its original meaning—a day's wage—the fact that he labors by the day. In the city he is a most useful man of all work, a scavenger, etc. In the country he adds to these duties that of farm laborer.

The Farmers — The life of the majority of India's inhabitants, the nearly 192,000,000 farmers, is graphically described in the writings of a native, who is speaking of

the Reddis, a sub division of the Sudras, who may be regarded as the representative husbandman of South India "As is the case with all those who have to work, and work pretty hard with their hands for their daily bread, the Reddi is a very early riser After partaking of a good quantity of cold—or rather, decomposing—rice gruel, well mixed with soured buttermilk, and with a few green chillies for a relish, the Reddi will set out, plow on shoulder and staff in hand, to the fields at a distance returning home late in the evening The women and children, or at least such of them as are either not old enough or strong enough for outdoor labor, will stay at home, attending to cooking fetching water, sweeping, and other similar household occupations, or will work at the spindle, turning out no small quantity of yarn, which is either sold or given to the village weaver to be turned into clothes for the use of the family Some of the women too go to the nearest market town, weekly or oftener, to dispose of what home produce they may have in the shape of vegetables, milk, curds or ghee returning home laden with such articles of household consumption as are not procurable in their own village

Their Meals — "The most serious part of the day's business in a family such as that we are describing is the cooking of the mid day meal A good portion of the food then prepared is at once taken to those members of the family working out of doors carried in a basket on the head or just as often in pots slung to a pole that is carried on the shoulders After eating follows the traditional siesta, in which even outdoor laborers indulge, and, after awaking therefrom there will be the usual routine of domestic duties gone through terminating with the preparation of supper In the midst of her culinary operations the Reddi's wife will rise to perform what is perhaps the only act approaching to worship in a homestead such as hers, namely the lighting of the lamps Washing her

hands, face, and feet, and smoothing her hair, she will light a wick, put it in a little saucer of oil, and prostrate herself before it with arms outstretched and the hands joined together in the well known Hindu attitude of worship, calling the while on the names of the family or village deity, or just as often on the goddess Lakshmi, the source of all temporal welfare. Anon the evening meal is ready, and those at home anxiously await the return of those who are still outside. When the latter approach the house, they are presented with a vessel of water to wash their feet, washing away thereby, as it were all evil that they may have brought with them from without, before entering the house.

Evenings — "After supper, betel nut will be chewed and tobacco smoked, and one by one the several members of the Reddi family will go to sleep thus bringing to an end one of the usual uneventful days of their ordinary existence."

Importance of the Village — It is such communities as these, in which the vast majority of India's inhabitants live and where most of the missionary work is to be done, of which Elphinstone writes "This union of the village community, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

Industrial Conditions — Wages are very low, averaging for the laborer four cents a day and for the artisan fifteen cents. Consequently poverty is omnipresent, so that Sir William Hunter could say that forty millions go through

¹ *Pen and Ink Pictures of Native Indian Life*, by a Hindu. *Madras Times* 1899

² *Rowe Every Day Life in India* p. 156

life with too little food, while Sir Charles Elliot of Assam wrote, "I do not hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Combinations in the interest of labor are common. Caste is in itself a trade guild and a mutual assurance society. In the former capacity it insists on the proper training of the youth of its craft, regulates wages, deals with trade delinquents, supplies courts of arbitration, and promotes fellowship by social gatherings. In those sections where each trade forms a guild irrespective of caste lines, it aims to regulate competition among its members and uphold its own trade interests as against the disputes with other crafts men. Its use of guild and assurance funds unites with caste to supply the place of a poor law.

9 *Amusements* — The amusements of the Hindus do not assume any prominent place in their life, unless religious festivals are regarded in this light. Those not requiring physical exertion are appreciated next to those that contribute to the Hindu ideal embodied in the widely used word *tamasha*, meaning show display, pomp, and implying noise and a crowd. Wrestling acrobatic performances, jugglery, fireworks chess nautch dancing and songs and stories form the staple among the adults. Children indulge in Hindu variations of marbles pussy in the corner, blind man's buff, hide and seek, odd or even etc.

V THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1 *British Control* — In the matter of government, "India, in its widest sense, includes British India and the Native States, the former is under the direct control in all respects of British officials. The control which the Supreme Government exercises over the Native States varies in degree, but they are all governed by the native princes, ministers or councils with the help and under the

advice of a resident or agent in political charge either of a single State or a group of States. The chiefs have no right to make war or peace or to send ambassadors to each other or to external States; they are not permitted to maintain a military force above a certain specified limit; no European is allowed to reside at any of their courts without special sanction; and the Supreme Government can exercise the right of deposing a chief in case of misgovernment. Within these limits the more important chiefs possess sovereign authority in their own territories. Some of them are required to pay an annual tribute; with others this is nominal or not demanded.¹

2 *Evils* — Kipling has familiarized the reading public with the life of Indian officialdom; but he has not made clear enough the burden of most missionaries' lives who have groaned beneath the weight of their converts' litigiousness, or shared the sorrows of others who have unwillingly been brought before the courts. As testimony can be had for any untruth and as fees and bribes must be freely given to underlings, the cause of justice often fails and petty spite or greed unlawfully wins the case. These evils are not due to the theory of English courts but rather to the character of the people who shamelessly perjure themselves in any case not under the jurisdiction of the native panchayet. The evil most open to rational complaint is thus described by a native lecturer on the subject Mr. R. Dutt. The people of an entire district or sub-division of a district look up to the district officer or to his police for decision in the triflingest matters; and all local authority which village elders and village panchayets enjoyed of old has been swept away under a system of administration far too minute and centralized. One of the evils of this system is that the officials are not in touch with the people; they recognize no constituted leaders and heads of the people; they deal with the people

¹ *Statesman's Year-Book* 1903, p. 133.

through the worst of all possible channels, the police. In the pettiest disputes the villagers go up to the magistrate or the police for settlement, the autonomy of Indian village communities which outlived centuries of rule under Hindu and Mohammedan kings, is virtually gone and the agricultural population now rush to law courts and impoverish themselves. Litigation is demoralizing, thousands of simple and truthful agriculturists are tutored in falsehood in order that they may be effective witnesses, and the nation is judged by the falsehood uttered in courts.¹

¹ *India Ceylon etc* pp 316 317

IV

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF TO DAY

CHAPTER II contains an account of the development of India's religions from the comparatively pure adoration and worship of the great powers of nature through the period of religious philosophizing and the reforms of Buddha, down to the present-day degradation of religion and the attempted restoration of its pristine glory. What is here written presupposes a knowledge of that chapter and is a brief presentation of the religious life of India at the opening of the twentieth century.

I THE CENSUS OF 1901

1 *Statistics* — According to the last census the religions of the Empire are as follows ¹

Jews	18 778	Animists	8 584 349
Parsees	94 190	Buddhists	9 476 750
Jains	1 334 148	Mohammedans	62 458 061
Sikhs	7 195,268	Hindus	207 146 472
Christians	2 973 741	Others	2 686

2 *Distribution* — The provinces containing most of the Jews are Bombay, — which is the habitat of more than three fourths of them — Bengal and Madras. Bombay is likewise the home of almost eighty four per cent of India's Parsees making it the greatest stronghold of that faith in the world. Nearly half of the Jains are also found

¹ *Statesman's Year-Book 1903* p. 141

in Bombay, while Central India, and Rajputana especially contain most of the remainder. The Sikhs are almost wholly found in their early home in the Punjab. Catholic and Protestant Christians, are fairly well distributed over the Empire, though if a line were drawn due west from Calcutta about four fifths of them would be found south of it, two thirds of the entire Christian population being in the single province of Madras. Bengal, Bombay, and Burma are the provinces coming next in the number of resident Christians. Holders of animistic beliefs are most numerous in Assam, the Central Provinces, and Bengal, with a goodly number in Burma. Madras, and Central India. The Buddhists have been driven out of their original home and are now almost wholly confined to Burma and the rim of adjacent Bengal, though Kashmir, bordering on Tibet, also has some 35 000. Mohammedanism is strongest in North India, Bengal being the home of more than twenty five millions of Moslems and the Punjab standing next in order. Madras and Haidarabad are the two southern provinces having the largest number of Moslems. Of all religionists the Hindus are by far the most ubiquitous, abounding in all sections except Burma, Baluchistan, and Kashmir, where either Buddhism or Mohammedanism is so prevalent. Madras the United Provinces, and Bengal have the largest number of Hindus.¹

II INDIA'S MINOR FAITHS

While with the exception of animism all the religions noted under this head are of a higher order than popular Hinduism, they may be summarily treated as affecting but few in the entire mass of the population, and hence they may be regarded as of minor importance.

1 *Judaism* — The Jews have been in India from

¹ For a more particular statement of the distribution of Indian religions see sketch map.



remote times, apparently from the first or second Christian century 'The Buddhist polity, then supreme in Southern India, was favorable to the reception of a faith whose moral characteristics were humanity and self sacrifice'¹ Hence it was strong for a time, and then lost its place to early Christianity whose forerunner it had been. At present the cities of Bombay and Poona are the chief centers, though the Black and White Jews of Cochin are the most interesting. "The Blacks were originally the slaves of the Whites, as is shown by their historical documents. It is not known when the Whites came to India. The purity of their blood and the remarkable fairness of their complexion indicate that the settlement has been from time to time reenforced from northwestern countries. They are an exceedingly conservative people, and in their two synagogues, they conduct their worship perhaps more like the Jews of twenty centuries ago than do any other representatives of that race to day. The day school connected with the White Synagogue closely resembles the little school which our Lord attended at Nazareth"²

2 *The Parsees* — Driven by Moslems from their Persian home, the Parsees have for more than a thousand years made the city of Bombay and its neighborhood their adopted land. "Their faith Zoroastrianism is the purest of ethnic religions. It has preserved its ancient integrity and high tone much better than its sister faith, Brahmanism. Among the members of this religion are found men possessed of great enterprise, much wealth, the spirit of philanthropy and culture. They give high honor and position to their women, and in all matters of civilization are considerably in advance of even the best class of Hindus.

Though these Parsees have, for more than a millennium made India their home they have kept themselves apart from the people of the land and are still as

¹ Hunter, *Indian Empire* p. 285

² Jones *Indian Problem* pp. 35, 36

remote times apparently from the first or second Christian century. The Buddhist polity then supreme in Southern India was favorable to the reception of a faith whose moral characteristics were humanity and self sacrifice.¹ Hence it was strong for a time and then lost its place to early Christianity whose forerunner it had been. At present the cities of Bombay and Poona are the chief centers though the Black and White Jews of Cochin are the most interesting. The Blacks were originally the slaves of the Whites as is shown by their historical documents. It is not known when the Whites came to India.

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¹ Hunter *India as Empire* p. 283

² Jones *India as Problem* pp. 33, 36

4 *The Sikhs* — The Sikhs, not mentioned in Chapter II, are chiefly known to the West as loyal and brave soldiers of Britain's Sovereign, both within and outside India. Yet originally the martial bond afterward uniting them was wanting, Sikh signifying "disciple" merely, and the devotion of the disciples to their Guru, or divine guide, was the main feature of their life from the day of Nanak, their founder and a contemporary of Columbus, to the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, with whom the succession ceased. He made war the holy occupation of all the initiated, so that less than a century ago it could be said of them, when trained under European officers, that the Sikh army for steadiness and religious fervor had not seen its equal since the days of Cromwell's Ironsides.

Amritsar — From the time of the fourth Guru, who purchased the large square tank at a place called from that fact Amritsar, "pool of immortality, or nectar," this has been the holy place of Sikhism. He also built in the midst of this tank the famous Golden Temple. His son, Arjan, compiled and placed therein the most sacred book of their religion, the *Adi Granth*, or "First Book." Next to the Taj at Agra, the Golden Temple is the most famous piece of architecture in India, yet its fame among Sikhs is due to the two *Granth*s enclosed within this beautiful shrine. The tenth Guru, after adding martial passages to the peaceful *Adi Granth*, left the two books as the perpetual guide of his sect.

Bibliolatry — Although the temple is free from images, "the *Granth* is in fact the real divinity of the shrine and is treated as if it had a veritable personal existence. Every morning it is dressed out in costly brocade and reverently placed on a low throne under a jeweled canopy, said to have been constructed at a cost of 50,000 rupees. All day long chowries are waved over the sacred volume, and every evening it is transported to the second temple on the edge of the lake opposite the causeway, where it is

Buddhism of the Burmans has not been degraded into a debasing superstition, nor has it degenerated into an idolatrous practice, but it is in essence an ideal, ethical and spiritual faith, overladen in some degree by Nat worship and burdened by the superstition of pagoda building

Pagoda Building — "Everybody who visits Burma is at once struck by the enormous number of pagodas in that country. From the great gold encrusted cupola of the Shway Dagohn, which is the first object seen on approaching Rangoon, to the 9 999 pagodas of Pagahn, every form and variety of pagoda may be seen in traversing Burma. Every little village by the river side shows its cluster of white cupolas, and from every cliff and mound flash the golden *htees*, which surmount the glistening pinnacles. The building of a pagoda in memory of the great teacher, Buddha, is believed to be an act of merit, which will free the pious founders from some of the rounds of existence which are necessary before heaven can be reached. For it is an essential doctrine of Buddhism that the soul must be purged by an enormous number of transmigrations from every stain of selfishness or self love before heaven can be entered, and that the highest heaven can only be reached by absolute self abnegation by the loss of even the desire to possess an individual life. Then is Nirvana attained, for it is only when self is lost that eternal life begins."¹

Monasteries and Monks — Every male Burman must at some time in his life reside in a monastery, shave his head, wear the yellow robe of the Order, and, renouncing the world, go at least once round the village with a begging bowl hung around his neck with the regular monks. The entry into the monastery is the most important event in a Burman's experience and influences the entire populace. Naturally, therefore, men are friendly to the religion after they have left the monastery, as every one does except

¹ *India Ceylon etc.*, p. 262

States at the census of 1890 exceeded India's Moslems eleven years later by only half a million. They possess qualities of leadership in a higher degree, perhaps, than the Hindus, yet this leadership has not been exerted to ward the elevation of their neighbors who are without a true God. Not only are Indian Moslems among the lowest in the number of literates, but in most other respects they are laggards. "They have been much less affected by the rapid advance of the modern world than the Hindus. Their system is hopelessly antagonistic to everything new and everything progressive"¹ Their very strength thus becomes an obstacle to progress. So quick are they to take offence that the Government has to do more to conciliate and favor this section of the population than it does the other four fifths of the people of India.

2 *Sects—the Sunnites* — The sects of Islam in India are numerous, though more than nine tenths are Sunnis. The word means those who follow the *Sunnah*, or the traditional rule of Mohammed. They assume to themselves the title of *Najiyah*, or those who are "being saved" — as do the other sects also. The hadith, containing their additions to the *Koran*, is the residual after the compilers had followed the wise example of Yahya 'bn Naim, who wore out his last pair of shoes in collecting 600 000 traditions, and who said, "I copied quantities of traditions to the dictation of liars and heated my oven with them whereby my bread was well baked"² Since the object of these traditions is to make needless all appeals to reason and conscience, even the educated Hindu Mohammedan is not a rational believer.

Shi'ahs — These constitute about two per cent of India's Moslems though they stand next in number to the Sunnites if the large number of Moslems who are not distinguished in the matter of sect is disregarded. As their

¹ Theoburn *India and Malaysia* p. 121

² *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* vol. ix. p. 811

name suggests, they are the "followers" of Ali, believing him to be the rightful successor of Mohammed. The ray of divine glory, supposed to have been placed in the body of the Prophet, passed on to Ali and from him descended to the eleven Imams, his successors. The twelfth Imam, the Mahdi, exists hidden from man, but he will be revealed at the second advent of Christ. Though they reject the "six correct books" of the Sunnis, they have five collections of traditions of their own.

Wahhabis — While the Wahhabis are not numerous they are fanatically opposed to British influence, and, as in 1863-64, they have been guilty of treasonable intrigue. Patna is their chief center. Opposed to both of the parties above named they are nevertheless substantially Sunni. Smoking is in their opinion a greater sin than murder and adultery, and they attach great merit to counting the ninety-nine names of God on the fingers.

Modern School — The sect which is known as Mutazilites, "Separatists," have their successors in the modern school, who are more in evidence in the Occident as apologists for Mohammedanism than their numbers warrant. They are the Freethinkers of Islam, denying the eternity of the *Koran*, and asserting that Mohammedanism is tolerant and non-aggressive. Saiyid Amir Ali even goes so far as to say that polygamy is indirectly forbidden, that the Islamic laws prohibit slavery, and that it is even abhorrent to Mohammedanism. Their discussion of moral and social questions, however, is without doubt of value to the Empire. Sir Saiyid Ahmad is their greatest leader and writer.

Its Aligarh Institutions — It is to this modern school that the higher education of Mohammedan youth owes so much. Their Institute and College at Aligarh, whose chief instructors are English graduates of British universities, are probably the highest educational institutions in the Moslem world. It is to this type of Mohammedanism

also, that the plea for reform in education came at the late coronation durbar. On that occasion Aga Khan delivered an address from which this extract is taken. "It was, first, the bad example and selfishness of the Abbassides, secondly, the fatal system of modern purdah, with its restrictions on the intellectual development of woman, thirdly, the constant and silent withdrawal of the most pious and moral Moslems into a life of private prayer and devotion, and lastly, this doctrine of necessity, that brought about our downfall. I say it was, in my opinion, these four causes that have brought Moslem society down to its present low and degrading level of intellect and character." He then pleads for the enlarged endowment of their College. "We want Aligarh to be such a home of learning as to command the same respect of scholars as Berlin or Oxford, Leipsic or Paris. And we want those branches of Moslem learning, which are too fast passing into decay, to be added by Moslem scholars to the stock of the world's knowledge. And, above all, we want to create for our people an intellectual and moral capital, a city which shall be the home of elevated ideas and pure ideals, a center from which light and guidance shall be diffused among the Moslems of India, aye and out of India, too, and which shall hold up to the world a noble standard of the justice and virtue and purity of our beloved faith." Well may the editor of the periodical from which these words are quoted,¹ say "If the speech of the President can be regarded as interpreting the desires of the 2,000 delegates, we are likely ere long to see one of the greatest changes in the teaching and policy of Islam that has ever been witnessed either in India or elsewhere." It should be remembered, however, that orthodox Moslems do not regard these Neo-Mohammedans as within the pale of true Islam, any more than strict Hindus consider the Brahma Samaj as representing Hinduism.

¹ *The East and the West* April, 1903 pp. 148-155

great stronghold. Despite the Moslem revival of the last half of the nineteenth century, Mohammedanism is still correctly characterized by Sir William Hunter's words "It has conspicuously failed to alter the permanent religious conceptions of the people." A local writer speaking from personal acquaintance with the Musalman peasantry in the northern districts of Lower Bengal, states that not one in ten can recite the brief and simple *kalma*, or creed, whose constant repetition is a matter of almost unconscious habit with Mohammedans. He describes them as a 'sect which observes none of the ceremonies of its faith, which is ignorant of the simplest formulas of its creed, which worships at the shrines of a rival religion and tenaciously adheres to practices which were denounced as the foulest abominations by its founder."

4 *Islam's Growth — Censuses* — The question whether this compound of strength and weakness is making progress in India is one of interest to all Christians. A comparison of the censuses of the last two decades shows that between the years 1881 and 1891 they increased 14.36 per cent, and during the last decade 8.96 per cent. In those two decades however, the entire population of India also increased and at the following rate. From 1881 to 1891, 13 per cent, from 1891 to 1901, 2.48 per cent.

IV HINDUISM

Writers on Hinduism usually discuss its main phases under the heads of Vedic Hinduism, Brahmanism — a term, however, not used by native writers, — and Popular Hinduism. Enough has been written about the first of these in Chapter II and later in the present chapter Brahmanism, or Philosophic Hinduism appears in connection with reformed Hinduism. Popular Hinduism affecting more than two thirds of India's inhabitants, calls for fuller treatment.

and the other Manikarnika is fabled to have been dug with Vishnu's discus and to have been filled with perspiration from his body. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, many of them diseased, bathe in its waters, hoping to remove in a moment the sins of a lifetime.

Stones etc. — Inanimate objects such as stones are adored. Some of them—the fossil ammonite, for example—are supposed to possess inherent divinity and have their connection with the great gods—Vishnu in the case of the ammonite. Most of them, however, are marked out for worship with red paint and are mere fetishes. Petitions like the following are offered by coolies and others: "If thou help me in this work I will offer to thee on the coming Saturday a pice [about half of a cent] worth of red lead." The traveler in India notes a stone as large as a man's head lying at the foot of a sacred tree; it is the only representative of Shasti, protectress of children and worshiped mostly by women. Village deities are especially likely to be stones painted red, or else the same divine pigment is smeared over rocks and sacred trees.

Tool Worship — The worship of another class of inanimate objects, namely, one's tools, seems more reasonable.

Every object that benefits the Hindu and helps to provide him with a livelihood becomes for the time being his fetish or god. On particular days the farmer prays to his plow, the fisher to his net, the writer adores his pen, the banker his account books, the carpenter his tools, the woman her basket and other articles that assist in her household labors.

Plants and Trees — Plants too are the objects of worship, as are certain trees. We have seen why the soma plant was considered divine. Many others are so regarded because of the Hindu doctrine of transmigration, according to which demons, men and animals can pass into

plants It would be manifestly unwise, therefore, to offend any such power Not to speak of the banyan, the fig—the pipal or bo tree—and the wood apple, the kusa grass and the tulasi plant are most popularly worshiped This sacred grass 'is used at all religious ceremonies It sanctifies the soil, forms the most sacred of all seats, cleanses everything it touches, purifies the impure, and when wound round the fingers makes them fit to engage in the most solemn rites In virtue it is nearly equal to the excrements of the cow

The tulasi [toolsi, or holy basil] is especially the Hindu woman's divinity It is generally planted in the courtyard of respectable families, with a space around for circumambulation All the religion of many of the women consists in walking round the tulasi plant in saying prayers to it, or in placing offerings before it The great object is to have sons They walk 108 times around it with the right shoulder always turned towards it If the left shoulder were used, all the efficacy would be lost

Zoolatry — Animal worship is common partly for the same reason that plants are regarded as sacred The popular belief is that there are 8 400 000 human animal and plant lives through which any man may pass in his weary round of transmigration "Even a flea may enclose the soul of some person who was a sage or a saint The stories of talking beasts and birds are by ignorant Hindus looked upon as real narratives" While the cow and next to her, the bull rank highest in India's zoolatry, the monkey is also held in high veneration Hindu women will not injure a cat, since that was the animal upon which Shastri was said to ride The worship of snakes is likewise a specialty of the women, who place before their holes offerings of milk and eggs with invocations and prayers

Brahmans — Living men are regarded as divine Not only does Manu assert that a 'Brahman is a mighty god.

a supreme divinity whether he be learned or unlearned and even if employed in inferior occupations but they are actually so looked upon by the masses. Most Hindu men have one of them for his Guru. "They are taught that it is better to offend the gods than the Guru. If a man offends the gods his Guru can intercede on his behalf and win their favor but if a man offend the Guru there is none to appease his wrath. The curse of a Guru will condemn a man to untold miseries in hell. Hence it is no uncommon thing when a disciple meets his Guru to prostrate himself before him and take the very dust from his feet and place it on his head.

The depth of debasement is reached in the case of the Vallabha sect a division of the Vaishnavas. Their chief priests are called Mahatmas and are regarded as incarnations of Krishna. Men and women prostrate themselves at their feet offering them incense fruit and flowers and waving lights before them.

Women are taught to believe that the highest bliss will be secured to themselves and their families by intercourse with the Mahatmas. Rich Bombay merchants as shown by a trial in 1862 gave their wives and daughters to be prostituted as an act of religious merit to men who had ruined their health by debauchery.

Ancestral Worship — This widely prevalent worship is based upon the Hindu belief that some of the dead are degraded at death to the demon state while others become divinities. For three generations it is believed that the departed need to be nourished by their descendants and to have works of merit performed for their benefit. The sadaka offerings on the first day after death give the departed spirit a head on the second day a neck and shoulders and so on until the tenth day when the body is formed and is voraciously hungry. Feeding on the offerings it gains strength for the awful journey to Yantra or hell begun on the thirteenth day. Midway in this journey of

559 000 miles is the awful river, Vaitarani, which is 650 miles wide and 'filled with blood, infested by huge sharks, crocodiles and sea monsters, darkened by clouds of hideous vultures. Thousands of condemned spirits stand trembling on its banks. Consumed by a raging thirst, they drink the blood which flows at their feet, then tumbling headlong into the torrent, they are overwhelmed by the rushing waves. Finally they are hurried down to the lowest depths of hell to undergo inconceivable tortures. On the other hand the Hindu is taught that by performing certain religious rites and giving gifts to the Brahmans, all the terrific penalties of sin may be avoided and Yama loses its victims'.¹ What wonder that the birth of a son is desired, since he is the proper one to present these offerings and since it is these that deliver parents from hades! Nor is it any marvel, since India's millions do not regard the above as a Dantesque fantasy but as an impending and dreaded reality that Hindu parents look with utter dismay upon the conversion of an only son to the Protestant religion, whose teachings are so diametrically opposed to such a belief.

Deified Men — Five classes of men have been deified and are objects of general adoration, as are the manes of the departed in a given family. These are noted kings, warriors, Brahmans, saints and sages. Their apotheosis is gradual and natural. "The earliest start of even a first rate god may have been exceedingly obscure, but if he or his shrine make a few good cures at the outset, especially among women or cattle his reputation goes rolling up like a snowball. This is the kind of success which has made the fortune of some of the most popular, the richest and the most widely known gods in Berar who do all the leading business." Votaries being capricious, hero-worship is subject to constant change. The Indian pantheon"²

¹ Murdoch *Popular Hinduism* pp. 12-13

² Lyall *Arabic Sind* 45 p. 24

be charmed or afflicted by demons or wizards, be preserved by witch doctors, and which finally departs at death''¹

The Trimurti — Brahma — India's gods and goddesses are in many cases less worthy of honor than some of the objects of worship already mentioned. At the head of the pantheon stand the Hindu triad, or trimurti, Brahma, masculine, the offspring of the Eternal Supreme Being — Brahma, neuter, the maker of all things, Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer and reproducer. Of these Brahma is without a temple, save at Pushkara, the other gods having deprived him of worship, because he thrice told a lie and hired the cow, Kamadhenu, and the three Katakas as false witnesses. If they had been equally conscientious regarding their own sins, there would have been no Hindu pantheon, for mortals guilty of a tithe of the crimes that mark the story of Vishnu and Siva would have been jailed and executed by any modern court of justice.

Vishnu as Krishna — The idea underlying the avatars or incarnations of Vishnu is praiseworthy, their object professedly being to correct glaring evils or to effect some great good for the world. Of his ten principal incarnations the eighth, that of Krishna, "the dark god," is widely celebrated. He is the most popular of all the later deities of India. "Krishna, as conceived by the Hindus now, is a strangely mixed character. He is the warlike prince of Dwaraka in Gujarat; he is the licentious cowherd of Vrindavana, and he is the Supreme Divinity incarnate. Unhappily the Hindu mind delights especially in the foul tales told of him in the second of these characters, and among the embellishments of Hindu dwellings may often be found pictures representing him sporting with the Gopis [female cowherds]. The influence for evil which the story of Krishna's early life has had in debasing the Hindu mind has been immense."²

¹ Pettany *The World's Religions* pp. 309, 310.

² Mitchell *Hinduism Past and Present* pp. 119, 120.

He has been characterized as the incarnation of Lust and is said to have had 16,100 wives and 180,000 sons¹

Siva — And Siva, the third member of the trimurti, the companion of prostitutes whose eyes are red from intoxication, is most fitly represented by the symbols of generation, the linga and yoni combined. "Temples to hold this symbol, which is of a double form to express the blending of the male and female principles in creation, are probably the most numerous now to be seen in India"² It may be added that Vishnu is most popular in the North, while Siva is the favorite god of Southern India

Ganesa — Ganesa, son of Siva, is a god of second ary, yet great, importance to the Hindu, though his elephant head and bloated body do not suggest it. As lord of the troops of mischievous and malignant spirits who cause obstacles and difficulties, he is invoked at the beginning of all undertakings. School boys, especially, pray to him for aid in their studies, while every orthodox Indian book begins with an invocation to him, the writing of a book, according to Monier Williams, being peculiarly liable to obstruction from spiteful and jealous spirits, whose malignity must be counteracted

Goddesses — Not to speak of the myriads of other Hindu gods, mention must be made of a few of the goddesses most popular in India. Each god has one or more wives, who represent the active principle of the divine nature, as he does the quiescent principle. Brahma's Sakti, or active principle, is Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, Lakshmi is the wife of Vishnu and is the goddess of fortune, and Siva's wife is Kali, "black," variously known as Parvati and Himavati because a daughter of the Himalayas, Bhairavi, "the terrible," Durga, overcomer of the giant of that name, or simply as Mahadevi "the great goddess." * As the latter appellation suggests, Kali is *par excellence* the

¹ Murdoch, *Popular Hinduism* pp 30 31

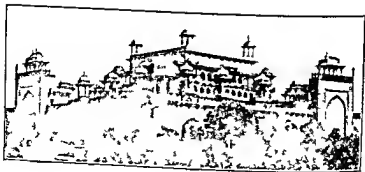
² Monier Williams *Hinduism* p 93

great goddess of India and from her the metropolis gets its first syllable Calcutta signifying "dwelling of Kali" This goddess 'is represented as a black woman with four arms In one hand she has a weapon, in another the head of the giant she has slain, with the two others she is encouraging her worshippers For earrings she has two dead bodies she wears a necklace of skulls Her only clothing is a girdle made of dead men's hands and her tongue protrudes from her mouth Her eyes are red as those of a drunkard, and her breasts are smeared with blood She stands with one foot on the thigh and the other on the breast of her husband'

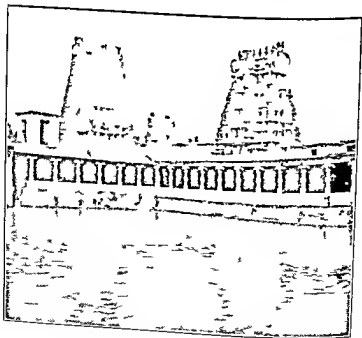
Saktas — Worshipers of the Sakti or female principle of the gods are known as Saktas They are divided into two parties those of the right hand whose practices are merely marked by mystery, magic, and folly, and those of the left hand whose immorality is unsurpassed by the worst that ancient Greece and Rome dreamed of and probably has been unequalled in any other system At their meetings 'a woman must be present as the living representative of the Sakti goddess She is first stripped of all her clothing wine and flesh are given to her and to the company which must be composed of both sexes The women drink first out of goblets of cocoanut or human skulls The men then drink No regard is paid to caste Excitement, even intoxication is produced by the abundant use of liquor The lights are extinguished and then follow doings indescribable Professor H H Wilson rightly designates these as 'most scandalous orgies' The abominable character of the whole celebration is heightened by the declaration of the sect that all is done not for sensual gratification but as an exalted form of divine worship As it has been estimated that three fourths of the Hind in Pengal are Saktas the loathsomeness and awful danger

¹ Cf. *Edouard Levesque's Populæ Hinduism* p. 36

² Mitchell *Hinduism Past and Present* p. 144



Great Mosque at Delhi—Jumna Masjid



Tank and Temple Architecture—South India

of such a religion may be realized To speak fully of India's "gods many and lords many," would only show the appropriateness, as applied to Hinduism, of Bossuet's words describing classical antiquity, "Tout etait Dieu, excepte Dieu lui même, — All was God, save God Himself"

2 *Shrines and Temples* — In describing the Hindu village, the place of the Brahman priesthood in the common life was spoken of and more need not be said Nor will decency permit anything more than a reference to those unfortunate women who are priestesses of religion, and who, whether called muralis, bhavins, jogtins, or nautch girls, are in reality all more or less deserving the name of a single class of them, devadasi, "slaves of the god" This means slaves of lust, either of the priests or of men of every caste The fact that a large proportion of the educated women, outside the Christian pale, belong to these classes ought not to abate our pity and compassion for them Yet public religion has its high places which must be mentioned They range from the rude shrines, dotted all over the land, adorned with a rag or two to attract worshipers, to world famed temples These "vary in style and size, beginning in their simplest form with the village shrine of the local god, and the cave temple of the early Buddhist, advancing to the elaborately carved Kailas cut out of the solid rock, and the huge and grotesquely ornamented towers which crown the vast structures of Southern India The country is rich in building materials, and the best available is devoted to the service of the divine Stone of various colors, marble, and a durable and costly stucco are all represented In the east and in Burma, where stone is rare or has to be imported from a distance, timber takes its place, or in the midst of the highly cultivated tracts, where trees have had to make way for the plow, the useful bamboo with the palm thatching lends a special feature to the architecture It may be observed in passing that though the divinities in favor vary in each tract of India, there is

a curious tendency toward simplicity in both temple and rites, as well as in the character of the god, among the more martial and hardy races, while among their opposites, fashion inclines toward elaborate and grotesque monstrosities in architecture and a cruel and bloodthirsty deity indoors. A great feature in Brahmanic worship is the frequency and efficacy of ceremonial ablutions. These must be performed daily before food is taken, so that a large pond or reservoir is usually provided, unless a stream be within reach."¹

3 *Hinduism's Highplaces* — National highplaces are legion, including river confluences, residences of famous deities, as that of Jagannath — Juggernaut — at Puri, divine lakes, shrines of goddesses, and famous monasteries. Greater than all the rest however, is Benares, the Jerusalem of the Hindus. "Here in this fortress of Hinduism, Brahmanism displays itself in all its plenitude and power. Here the degrading effect of idolatry is visibly demonstrated as it is nowhere else except in the extreme south of India. Here temples, idols, and symbols, sacred wells, springs and pools, are multiplied beyond all calculations. Here every particle of ground is believed to be hallowed and the very air holy. The number of temples is at least 2000, not counting smaller shrines. In the principal temple of Siva called Visvesvara, are collected in one spot several thousand idols and symbols, the whole number scattered throughout the city being, it is thought, at least half a million."²

4 *Temple Worship* — Worship is conducted on a different plan from that in Christian lands. It is mainly a personal service of the gods, the priests being their valets and butlers, and the people being absent or else passive spectators. Thus in Dr. Mitra's description of the worship in a great Siva temple in Orissa, of the twenty two cere-

¹ *India Ceylon etc* pp 6, 7

² Monier Williams *Hinduism* pp 174 175

nonial acts of the daily worship, ten have to do with the god's dress and sleep, and nine are connected with as many meals which he daily enjoys. Waking him with bells at dawn and the waving of lights before him when his teeth are brushed in the morning and a similar waving before retiring are the other acts of worship.¹ "The worship of Vishnu is much of the same character, but no animal food is offered. The following is part of the address to the god when wakening him with singing and music in the morning. 'The darkness has departed, the flowers have opened and diffused around their fragrance, behold the dawn of the day and the morning breeze.' Arise, therefore, thou that sleepest in thy bedchamber.' The temple of Kali near Calcutta at great festivals almost swims with blood and the smell is fairly sickening. The people bring their victims, pay the fee, and the priests put a little red lead on its head. When their turn comes, the executioner takes the animal, fixes its head in a frame, and then beheads it. A little of the blood is placed in front of the idol, and the pilgrim takes away the headless body. Dr Rajendralala Mitra says, 'There is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not at one time or other shed her own blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation.'"

No Congregational Worship — It should be added that the idea of Congregational worship is wanting in the Hindu's mind. "Occasionally, it is true, and on stated days, he visits idol shrines, but he does not go there with any idea of praying with others. He goes to the temple to perform what is called *Daršana*, that is, to look at the idol, the sight of which when duly dressed and decorated by the priest, is supposed to confer great merit. After viewing the image, he may endeavor to propitiate the favor, or avert the anger, of the god it represents by prostrations of

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hindunism* pp 93-94

² Murdoch *Popular Hinduism* p 46

the body, repetitions of its name, or presentation of offerings. His real religion is an affair of family usage, domestic ritual, and private observance. Not that his domestic worship is free from sacerdotal interference. Sacerdotalism uncontrolled by any central authority exerts a strong power over personal and family religion and all the stronger from the absence of congregational religion.¹

Spiritual Worship — Both in the temples and in private life there is not wanting a more spiritual conception than that of the vast majority of Hindus, just described. Thus in the Madhya Sect of Vaishnavism, — a sect nearly seven centuries old and supposed to have gained its distinctive character from contact with early Christian missions — the act of worship is said to be "threefold with the voice — by veracity right conversation, kind words, and the repetition of the *Veda*, with the body — by giving alms to the poor, by defending and protecting them, with the heart — by mercy, love, and faith. This is merely a repetition of the old triple division of duties according to thought, word, and deed.² The recent reform movements, especially some of the samajes,³ also emphasize the spiritual nature of worship.

5 *Home Religion* — A native writer, Babu S C Bose, thus describes the family religion of the higher classes. "In almost every respectable Hindu household there is a tutelar god generally made of stone or metal after one of the images of Krishna, set up on a gold or silver throne with silver umbrella and silver utensils dedicated to its service. Every morning and evening it is worshiped by the hereditary Purohit, or priest, who visits the house for the purpose twice a day, and who, as the name implies is the 'first' in all religious ceremonies, second to none but the Guru, or spiritual guide. The offerings of rice, fruits

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 352. ² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³ While samaj literally means "society" less correct but more common usage is here followed according to which it signifies "reform organizations."

sweetmeats, and milk, made to the god, he carries home after the close of the service. A conch is blown, a bell is rung, and a gong beat at the time of worship, when the religiously disposed portion of the inmates, male and female, in quasi-penitent attitude, make their obeisance to the god and receive in return the hollow benediction of the priest. The daily repetition of the service quickens the heart-beats of the devotees and serves to remind them, however faintly, of their religious duties. Such worship is popularly regarded as an act of great merit, paving the way to everlasting bliss.¹ In poor homes there is no regular daily worship, though irregular and frequent religious acts and offerings are characteristic of practically every one. Most of these acts are mechanical and intended to gain merit. Thus children are generally named for some god, so that merit may accrue every time the god's name is uttered, as when the child is called home. Parrots are sometimes taught to repeat the names of deities, the consequent merit belonging to the owner. A more meritorious deed is the repetition of the thousand names of Vishnu. Peculiar importance is attached to his name Hari. A dying person placed in the Ganges is exhorted to say "Hari!" as the passport to heaven.

6 *Leading Ideas of Hinduism* — But what is there behind these external features of Hinduism? Probably not two out of a thousand could give any intelligible answer to such a question. They worship they know not what nor why. Yet that there are real, though unconscious needs and motives underlying this omnipresent religiosity, there can be no doubt. Disregarding the historical origin of Hinduism's beliefs, the present-day Hindu of the rank and file stands in the following relations to religion.

Selfhood — The struggle for existence is for the masses the most pressing of realities, despite a warm climate and ordinarily fruitful soil. Indeed, the scorching heat and

¹ Bose, *The Hindoos as They Are*, pp. 11, 12

possibilities of famine intensify the personal strain and the constant sense of dependence. The Hindu does not remember when "he began to be in want", he scarcely recalls a day when he was not in need. He may not think of his Father's house, but he does think of the multitudinous deities whose wrath may hinder and whose favor may aid in the strenuous struggle for existence. Again, he lives in the sensuous tropics, and like most men whose sensual nature asserts itself in proportion as mental and spiritual ideals are lacking, his passions dominate him. A conscience seared through millenniums of heredity may possibly reprove his unlawful desires. If it should, he does not have far to seek to find divine sanction, either in the sacred books of Hinduism, or in the example of libertine deities, for any grossest licentiousness to which he is prompted. This man is self centered in his fears also. The very real demon world in which he believes himself to live fills him with dread. He must pit against these powers of darkness some potent opposing power, and hence he calls to his aid his tutelary deities. But his fear goes farther afield as he thinks of that day when he must tread his winepress alone and make the awful journey to Yama. Who will deliver him who through fear of death has been all his lifetime subject to bondage? And even Yama is not the goal, for through the firmly believed doctrine of transmigration a series of lives, 8,400,000 in number, is inseparably connected with his own,—lives so truly described in the popular belief by the South India poet

"How many births are past I can not tell,
How many yet to come no man can say,
But this alone I know, and know full well
That pain and grief embitter all the way"

This dread of continued transmigration is the haunting thought of every Hindu. His great aim, therefore, is to break this chain of repeated existences and return to complete absorption into pure, unconscious spirit.

The Caste Family — But he is not merely an individual whose present life is linked with his other countless selves of the dim past and age long future, he is as indissolubly connected with a multitude of men like himself, those of his great caste family. Aside from the social aspects of this institution, which were dwelt upon in the previous chapter, "caste is at every point connected with Hinduism — a thing interwoven with it, as if Hinduism were the warp and caste the woof of the fabric of Indian life"¹ Personal responsibility for one's own morals and religion thus becomes merged in the caste's views and practices and the individual conscience is lost in the ethical judgments of others. Custom thus becomes the practical god of all Hindus, and in no land is religion so dominated by society interpretations of it.

Gods — The Hindu's relation to his caste and his own deep need of religion have helped to make him "in all things very religious." His gods must be many, for so are his needs, and so has been the teaching of his caste-family, whose members by the covert experimenting of individuals have lit upon many deities of supposed power. India is thus preëminently the land of idols and of the gods which to a few of the more enlightened are represented by them. Except for the poems, notably the two great epics, these gods have no uplifting ethical power over him, they are tools by which he gains a livelihood or supernatural defenders against omnipresent but unseen dangers.

Pantheism — The higher minds of the nation refused to assent to a myriad of divine beings, preferring to regard them as manifestations or attributes of the one great All. This metaphysical idea has permeated the masses sufficiently to make it true of even popular Hinduism that its substance is wrapped up in its briefest of all creeds.

¹ Carmichael *Things as They Are* Mission Work in Southern India p. 85

"*Ekam eva aditiam*,—There is but one Being, without a second" The phrase "without a second," does not mean without a second god 'Nothing really exists but the one impersonal Spirit, called Atma, or Brahma Brahma is real, the world is an illusion From it everything is born in it everything breathes and is dissolved'' Being thus part of God,—nay God himself,—moral distinctions are lost to every soul, because all human sins thus become divine acts

Mediatorship — But this logical conclusion is not fully appreciated by the simple villager, there is too much real divinity in him for that Needs are pressing, gods are many, demerit and sin are his body of death Where is salvation? He does not say with the patient old sheikh of Arabia,

'There is no daysman betwixt us
That might lay his hands upon us both',

for in his view they are on every hand He does not care so much for those supposedly historic incarnations of the saving Vishnu—not even for that of Krishna, for in every hamlet even there are living sons of the great God the revered Brahmans The trite syllogism of Indian logicians is the only piece of formal reasoning that is universally known

The whole world is under the power of gods
The gods are under the power of the mantras
The mantras are under the power of the Brahman
The Brahman is therefore our God

And of such a god a distinguished Babu writes 'I ask every Hindu to look into his heart honestly and answer frankly whether a Brahman of the present day is a true embodiment, a glorious display, a veritable representative of Brahma the Creator Has he not long since sacrificed his traditional pure faith on the altar of selfishness and

concupiscence and committed a deliberate suicide of his moral and spiritual faculties? We blush to answer the question in the affirmative.¹

7 *Eclectic Hinduism* — Such a system as we have described could not but feel the effect of contact with Western thought and a pure religion. The various samajes and eclectic systems of to day are thus the resultant of contact of the Indian mind with Christian truth and institutions leading to a return to the Vedas and to the amalgamation with them of many Christian ideas. Most of these movements are merely half way houses between Hinduism and Christianity. They are with faces more or less turned toward the light and possess the progressive spirit which in some cases can not fail of landing their members at no distant date in the Christian fold.²

Brahma Samaj — The first of recent religious movements is the Brahma Samaj or Society of God founded by Rammohun Roy. Professor Monier Williams calls him the first earnest minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced. Though a high caste Brahman and keeping his sacred cord about him till death he boldly attacked the evils of Hinduism. Here is his estimate of it. The public will I hope be assured that nothing but the natural inclination of the ignorant towards the worship of objects resembling their own nature and to the external form of rites palpable to their grosser senses joined to the self interested motives of their pretended guides has rendered the generality of the Hindu community in defiance to their sacred books devoted to idol worship — the source of prejudice and superstition and the total destruction of moral principle as countenancing criminal intercourse suicide female murder and human sacrifice.³ And this is

a statement found in one of his later works "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any others which have come to my knowledge".¹ Though he established a society in 1816, the germ of the first Theistic Church was not planted until 1828. He was a friend and supporter of the missionaries, notably Dr. Duff, even though some of them bitterly assailed his positions.

Keshab Chandar Sen — After the death in Bristol, England of this greatest modern religious reformer of India the society was carried on by his successors until in 1844 the first organized Theistic Church of India hence afterward called the Adī Brahma Samaj, was established in Calcutta with Tagore as its leading spirit. It attracted a large number of Brahmans, but soon discord began, owing largely to the strength and liberality of thought of Keshab Chandar Sen. The desire of his faction to enter into a social campaign against caste and various other evils of Hinduism, led to a split, the radical wing taking the name of the Brahma Samaj of India. Sen was in no mood to compromise, which was the policy of Tagore. "He was to destroy, rather than to renovate the old Vedic system with all its train of ceremonial rites and observances". His strong mind finally so usurped dominion in the Society that with his own inconsistency in giving his daughter in marriage to a native prince and the sacrifice of principles in that connection, dissension arose and his influence began to wane. His later career was marked by vagaries though his work still continued to be helpful to the cause of religious and social reform. In its later development the Society was called the New Dispensation Church. His general attitude toward Christianity is seen at its best in the famous address entitled 'India Asks, Who is Christ?'

¹ Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 483

delivered in Calcutta in 1879. In this splendid specimen of native oratory occurs the oft quoted passage. It is Christ who rules British India. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet to conquer and hold this vast Empire. None but Jesus none but Jesus none but Jesus ever deserved this bright this precious diadem India and Jesus shall have it.'¹

Theosophy — The various samajes are like the conservative wing the Adi Samaj or else follow the type of the New Dispensation Church. The growing Arya Samaj is described in chapter VII. Some again take an independent line, and call their creed Theosophy meaning thereby divine wisdom or science — spiritual philosophy.

They hold that all religions have elements of truth which spring from the one Fountain of Truth and that Theosophy is the synthesis of all religions. Hence pure Brahmanism pure Buddhism pure Islam pure Christianity may be equivalent to Theosophy. It may be true that Theosophy is spreading but in India it seems to be little more than another name for Vedānta philosophy.² The strange compound of fraud and mysticism concocted in the witches cauldron of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott has proven that even in that land of credulity and occultism an Occidental importation is not popularly appreciated save as an abettor of reformed Hinduism.

8 *Hinduizing the Occident* — With the advent of Swami Vivekananda at the Chicago Parliament of Religions the Occident gained its first realizing sense of reformed Hinduism's attempt to propagate its creed in Christian land. Since that time not a few other swamis have lectured to audiences mainly made up of women who have been captivated by turlans and flowing robes and a wealth of mellifluous words and of Oriental mysticism. They are

¹ Mon et W. 555. *Prasanna and Hinduism* p. 516.

² *I. I. p. 55.*

mostly teachers of the Vedanta philosophy concerning which an earnest student of the *Upanishads* writes. "The Vedanta, the highest conclusion of Indian thought, is based on a mistaken and pessimistic view of life, on a formulated dogma, unsupported by any evidence and untaught in the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, the whole an elaborate and subtle process of false reasoning" According to the German authority, Richard Garbe, the object of the Vedanta, which is "the most orthodox of the six orthodox Brahmanical philosophies," is "the release of the soul from the bonds of corporeal existence and the teaching of the means of escape from the distressful round of rebirth This conviction that each individual after death will be again and again reborn to a new existence in which he enjoys the rewards of previously accumulated merit and suffers the consequences of previous misdeeds, is a fundamental factor of the Indian pessimism. According to the Vedanta, the only release from this endless round of birth and death is to be won by the attainment of knowledge. The fundamental dogma of the Vedanta system, according to the teaching of the *Upanishads*, is this. That our self is absolutely identical with Brahman [here means "power," the great Over soul]. Now Brahman is eternal and infinite. But since everything which consists of parts or which is susceptible to change is transitory therefore it is impossible that Brahman should consist of parts, or suffer change. From this it follows that every one in his innermost essence must be, not a part of Brahman, but the whole indivisible Brahman. Any other reality than this there is not." This, then, is the substance underlying such an avalanche of words as have become known to the public through Mrs. Mason's powerful and accurate satire, despite its incorrect title.*

* Slater *Studies in the Upanishads* p. 47

* *Universal Cyclopaedia* (1902 edition) vol. xii p. 132

* Mason *The Little Green God*

Vivekananda — The typical representatives of the swamis is the late Vivekananda himself. His real name was Narendranath Dutt, his title Vivekananda meaning

Bliss discrimination. Being of the Sudra caste he was forever disqualified from teaching religion or even from being taught its higher truths, standing as he did at the opposite pole of caste-dominion from the Brahmans or teachers. After graduating as B. A. in the General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta for a time he was a member of the Brahmin Samaj but later he studied under Ramakrishna whom he describes as being unlearned. When Max Müller asked Vivekananda whether his master knew Sanskrit he replied that he had been taught it by a beautiful woman in the jungle, she having been sent down from heaven on this errand. The Oxford professor's reply was

Nonsense! The only way to learn Sanskrit is to get a grammar and dictionary and go to work. His address at the Parliament of Religions which was so much lauded was thus criticised by *The Indian Nation*, one of the ablest Hindu journals. We can not help thinking that it exhibits other evils than those of mere compression. It is not merely inadequate but it is inaccurate inconsistent inconclusive. It is amusing to observe how the writer appropriates the doctrines and motives of Christianity and flings them in triumph at the Christian. The doctrine of love may be Hindu but is also and mainly Christian.¹

His Estimate of Western Women — The Swami thus paints American women. When the woman tries her best to find a husband she goes to all the bathing places imaginable and tries all sorts of tricks to catch a man. When she fails in her attempts she becomes what they call an old maid and joins the church. Some of them become very churchy. These church women are awful fanatics. They are under the thumbs of the priests there. Between

¹ Quoted in *The Interpreter* September 1897.

² See in *Vivekananda and His Guru* p. xxxv.

beneath the brutes in the thought of many. It also regards foreigners as equally low in the ceremonial scale. Even Sir Monier-Williams found when visiting India that the pandits who visited this master of Sanskrit bathed afterward to remove the pollution which they had thus contracted. (7) Religion is centered on outward ceremony. (8) In Hinduism religion and morality are divorced, while immorality is deified and men can sin religiously. (9) The means prescribed for deliverance from sin are worthless, such as bathing in the Ganges, rubbing ashes on the forehead, traveling long distances by measuring one's length on the ground, etc. (10) In a word, Hinduism is rebellion against God, the rightful Lord of the universe. It gives the honor due to Him alone to numberless imaginary gods, goddesses, demons, animals, and inanimate objects, with the results pictured so vividly in the first chapter of Romans.¹

V PILGRIMAGES AND HOLY MEN

1 *Pilgrimages* — Two features of the religious life of India belong alike to Hinduism and Mohammedanism, as well as to some of the less numerous religions. Pilgrimages are the result of the popular desire to visit at least once in a lifetime places of reputedly great sanctity. They "are generally performed as acts of faith and devotion for the accumulation of religious merit," or to atone for sins. Sometimes however, they are undertaken for the performance of *Sraddha* ceremonies in honor of departed ancestors or for the recovery of some sick person, or to convey the burnt remains of the bodies of deceased relations to some sacred shrine near a river, the object being to scatter the ashes on the purifying waters.² Pilgrim hunters, or agents, go about the country securing

¹ Murdoch *Popular Hinduism* pp. 24, 7.

² Monier Williams *Hinduism* pp. 171, 172.

devotees for their particular shrines, and the number who go annually to such places as Benares and Puri—the shrine of Jagannath—is almost beyond belief. The moral and physical effects of these pilgrimages are wholly against them, since thieves and harlots are there in force and sanitation becomes well nigh impossible.

2 *Holy Men* — Great numbers of men spend their lives, not only in visiting the great pilgrim centers, but in going about from shrine to shrine. While Moslem fakirs differ somewhat from the Hindu Yogis, they are alike the *beaux ideals* of the two great creeds. Sir Monier-Williams says of the latter: "The aim of the Yoga is to teach the means by which the human soul may attain complete union with the Universal Soul." The Yoga system appears, in fact, to be a mere contrivance for getting rid of all thought, or, rather, of concentrating the mind with the utmost intensity upon nothing in particular. Ordinarily it is a strange compound of exercises, consisting in unnatural restraint, forced and painful postures, twistings and contortions of the limbs, suppressions of the breath under taken apparently with no object except to achieve vacuity of mind.¹ Filth and uncleanness are other characteristics of these men. Many of them live alone as solitary mendicants while others go in companies armed and with banners. In the case of Mohammedan fakirs, they are often a source of danger because of their fanaticism, particularly after they have become wrought up at some famous place of pilgrimage.

¹ Monier Williams *Hinduism* pp. 200, 201

V

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

INDIA is unlike other great mission fields as China and Japan, in that it has had from the early centuries a few representatives of Christianity living in the midst of its religions and unconsciously leavening them, or being leavened thereby. Moreover we have in this Empire an illustration of the varied forms of Christianity — except the Greek, and their different effects upon the same native systems.

I ST THOMAS AND PANTAENUS

1 *Traditions* — Traditions of the missionary labors of one of the Twelve, St Thomas have for centuries existed in India. In their fullest form they are found in two of the apocryphal books of the *New Testament*, 'Acts of the Holy Apostle Thomas' and "Consummation of Thomas the Apostle." The "Acts," a Gnostic work written by Leucius does not go back farther than the second century and is manifestly fanciful. The following is a specimen of the book. "We portioned out the regions of the world, in order that each one of us might go into the region to which the Lord sent him. By lot, then, India fell to Judas Thomas, also called Didymus. And he did not wish to go, saying that he was not able to go on account of the weakness of the flesh. 'and how can I being an Hebrew man, go among the Indians to proclaim the

¹ *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (American edition) vol. viii. pp. 535-55

as truly a stronghold of the cultured heathenism of his time as is the Al Azhar of Cairo to day.¹ Thus providentially prepared and with a world wide reputation as an expositor of the Scriptures, he was sent to India "that he might preach Christ among the Brahmans." Had he remained there all his life, "this very great Gnostic who had penetrated into the spirit of Scripture, might have laid foundations that would have withstood the subsequent Christian impact, which has ever since been a mixed good in a land which so sorely needed a full Gospel and a Savior wholly divine. One characteristic fact of his sojourn there is his account of a Hebrew or Aramaic version of St Matthew, which would indicate that the early Christians of India commonly used that tongue.

II NESTORIANS AND THE SYRIAN CHURCH

1 *Persian Origins* — Whether Pantaenus won many converts or not it is evident that a century later Indian Christians were numerous. At the Council of Nicea in 325 A. D. Johannes the Metropolitan of Persia also signed himself "Of the Great India," thus indicating ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Persia. Hence it is not surprising to learn that soon after Nestorian zeal began to disseminate that form of Christianity throughout Eastern and Southern Asia it gave color to Indian views of the person of Christ and of other leading doctrines of Christianity. "In the fifth century" writes Sir William Hunter, "Nestorianism driven forth from Europe and Africa became definitely the doctrine of the Asiatic Church and Syriac became the sacred language of Christian colonies far beyond the geographical limits of Syria. Bishops, priests and deacons from Syria spread a certain uniformity in matters of faith and ritual through Persia."

¹ Smith *The Conversion of India* p. 13

and along Persian and Arabian sea-boards, and thence to the Christian settlements on the Indian coasts. It should be remembered, therefore, that during the thousand years when Christianity flourished in Asia, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, it was the Christianity of Nestorius¹

2 *The Middle Ages* — During the Middle Ages Indian Nestorians sailed on troubled seas. Persecution was their lot from without, while within the St Thomas legends finally confounded the Apostle with Christ Himself, and St Thomas's Mount was as holy as Cavalry almost. Persecution was not their invariable lot, however, for in the ninth century the Malabar Christians possessed all the rights of nobility and claimed precedence over the Nair aristocracy. Still later they and the heathen Nairs "supplied the body-guard of the local kings, and the Christian caste was the first to learn the use of gunpowder and firearms. They thus became the match lock men of the Indian troops of Southern India, usually placed in the van, or around the person of the prince"²

3 *Downfall of the Nestorian Church* — When Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, he found the Nestorian Christians a powerful military caste and highly respected by the non-Christians. It so happened that they were most numerous in the very province where the Portuguese landed. The sight of Christians, whom Rome regarded as schismatics, possessing their own kings and chiefs was a challenge thrown at the feet of the zealous friars who accompanied the expedition. As it was not easy to win them, both the Jews and the Nestorian Christians fell victims to the awful barbarities of the Goa Inquisition. In 1599, almost forty years after its establishment, the Nestorians had yielded, and for a time the Church ceased to exist.

¹ Hunter, *Indian Empire* p. 286

² *Ibid.*, p. 291

4 *Revival* — This enforced obedience was soon renounced, and the Portuguese yielding before the Dutch in the seventeenth century, the Nestorians gradually resumed their ecclesiastical existence, so that now the census shows the presence of 571,327¹ Christians of the Syrian order. At present they are divided into two sects, the Syrian Catholics and the New Church, or Jacobites. While they have thus had a continuous existence for fourteen centuries at least and are the only indigenous Christian community in India, this Church has never been a very influential factor in the nation's life. During the last half century it has been considerably influenced by the work and example of the Church Missionary Society, which is established in that region. Through this influence a Reformed Syrian Church has come into existence, which promises to do much for the whole community in ideal and life. The Syrian Church has hitherto been greatly cursed with the trinity of evils,—ignorance, ceremonialism, and superstition. It was not until 1811 — at the suggestion of an Englishman — that it translated part of the *Bible* — the four Gospels — into the vernacular. And this is the only translation of the Scriptures ever made and published by the natives of India.”

5 *Crosses and Denials* — Three ancient Persian crosses still survive in Southern India, ranking among the oldest relics of Christianity in Asia. They contain the inscription following: “Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true Messiah and God alone and Holy Ghost. Had the Church been true to such a sentiment, Dr. Smith could not have penned these words.” What Gibbon wrote in his thirty seventh chapter, of their fathers is still true of them. The Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, which attempted to explain the mysteries of the Incarnation, hastened the ruin

¹ *Statesman's Year Book* 1903 p. 142

² *Jones India's Problem* p. 165

of Christianity in her native land. Because their faith was weak, their message mutilated, their intellect darkened, and their life selfish, it was not possible for the colonies of Syrian and Persian Christians, dispersed on its southern shores, to bring India to Christ. Unpurged from the old leaven, it was not for them to leaven the whole lump.¹

III CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN INDIA

1 *Rome's Pioneers* — John of Monte Corvino, the apostle to China, was apparently the first Roman missionary to India. "He seems to have appeared first in Persia in the city of Tabriz. From Persia he traveled in the year 1291 to India, where he remained thirteen months. He was accompanied by the Dominican, Nicholas de Pistorio, who died there. In different districts, he succeeded in baptizing a hundred persons, and in the second letter which he wrote to Europe, he declared it as his belief that 'great results might be expected to follow the preaching of the Gospel in those regions, if substantial men of the order of the Dominicans or Franciscans would come there.'²

Jordanus — One such Dominican as John desired did a noble work in India, Jordanus author of the *Mirabilia Descripta*, describing the wonders of the East. While he was laboring there, more than ten thousand were converted to the Catholic faith through the fervent and faithful preaching of its tenets. His spirit is indicated by these extracts from his pen. "Because we, being few in number, could not occupy or even visit many parts of the land many souls — wo is me! — have perished and exceeding many perish for lack of preachers of the word of the

¹ Smith, *The Conversion of India* pp. 30-31

² Neander *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* vol. IV, p. 1 (Boston edition)

Inquisition and the chicanery and fraud of the Malabar rites, however, the foundations upon which much of Rome's success have depended are laid bare. Caste was catered to, Hindu terms were assumed when not true of the user, and the acted and spoken lie of Robert de Nobili, whereby he personated a holy ascetic from a distant region, with the forging of a fifth *Veda* to support their pretensions, carried on the unholy drama. It should be added that much of this was done contrary to the command of Rome, and mainly by members of the Jesuit order.

4 *Priests at Work* — The daily life of Catholic missionaries of to day is thus described. "The missionary's habitual life is to travel from village to village to administer the Holy Sacrament to his people. At all those villages, when he makes a casual or an annual visit, he is received with triumph by the assembled Christians, who come out to meet him with flags and native music and conduct him to the church or chapel, where, after the first usual prayer, he announces to the people the length of his stay, the order of the prayers and duties of each day, and then gives a fervent exhortation to profit by his presence and approach the Sacraments worthily.

Order of the Days — "The following is the usual order of the day in a village visitation. At three in the afternoon the catechist assembles all those who are preparing for the Sacraments and reads to them a Preparation for Confession, which explains the whole of the dogmatic belief and also is mixed with fervent prayers to excite the necessary sentiments in the soul. The missionary then gives a public instruction, explaining the guilt of sin and exhorting to contrition and amendment and shows some striking pictures representing death, judgment hell, and heaven, and the judgments of God upon sinners. The pictures often produce more effect upon their minds than the most fervent exhortations, and when they are well impressed with their meaning he shows them the crucifix

and explains how our merciful Lord, by His death and suffering has redeemed us all, and gives us all grace if we only choose to avail ourselves of His mercy. He speaks to them of the love of Christ, of the infinite merits of His precious Blood communicated to us in the Holy Sacraments. Then the Act of Contrition and other beautiful Tamil prayers written by the ancient missionaries are recited. Then the confessions begin and continue often till midnight, to be renewed again in the earliest morning before Mass. At sunrise in the morning the bell rings to call the people to Mass, and before it begins the catechist reads the prayers and instructions for the Holy Communion which are followed by an instruction by the priest himself. During the Holy Sacrifice, the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity and Contrition are recited aloud by the catechist to prepare the people for receiving the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord in Holy Communion. After Mass there is another exhortation to encourage all who have approached the holy table to piety and perseverance. At 9 A. M. the missionary takes his own meager breakfast and says his own prayers and office, and rests a little. In the afternoon he receives the visits of all those who wish to speak to him or ask his advice, he settles all the disputes and difficulties which may be brought to his notice by the catechist or elders of the village. He also receives the visits and examines the motives and conduct of those who wish to become Christians and appoints and arranges due means of their instruction, or else on another day he baptizes the children, examines the progress in catechism and performs the marriages. Thus in his employment with little spare time the week or ten days spent in the village pass by and when the work is done the Father goes to another to recommence the same labor.

5 *Character of the Converts* — While some of the Catholic missionaries as Abbe Dubois have very strongly

¹ *Catholic Missions in Southern India* pp. 738.

written concerning the defects of their converts the following statement mainly compiled from Catholic writings gives one an idea of the ordinary converts. The converts are now to be found in certain districts of South India in Madura Trichinopoly Tanjore and other places. These Catholic Christians as they call themselves are living monuments to attest the Jesuit policy louder than Pascal's letters or European proverbs. They wear marks on their foreheads as their heathen neighbors do go to Hindu temples on festival occasions and bow down before the images of pagan gods while perhaps they inwardly repeat Paters and Aves. Part of their marriage ceremony is performed in the Christian chapel and the couple is blessed by the Catholic priest. When this is done they go home kindle a fire and walk round it tie the wedding knot in the presence of Agni and call upon that fire god to witness the solemn contract. Their church is divided into compartments so that the high class Christians may worship the image of Him who was the friend of outcasts without being contaminated by the touch of the low caste worshipers. Three hundred years of Christianity has left them only where it found them — the slaves of Brahman superstition and of Brahman fraud. Their condition is worse than that of the Samaritans described in the Second Books of Kings. Who feared the Lord and worshiped their own strange gods.¹

6 *Some Differences* — Catholic missionaries like the Protestants devote great attention to girls boarding schools taught by nuns and furnishing a good education at a low rate. This has resulted in gaining a number of converts from among Protestants. Their higher institutions at Calcutta Bombay Trichinopoly and Mangalore are of a high order. The press is not employed as in Protestant missions as an aggressive agency and there is no circulation of tracts. Most of the books printed are of a devo

¹ *Missionary Review of the World* April 189 p. 243 249

looks the value of Rome's services to India. Sir William Hunter, writing of the Propaganda section of the missionaries, says "Their influence reaches deep into the life of the communities among whom they dwell."¹ In estimating the value of Catholic labors in India this distinction between the work of the Jesuits particularly those of earlier days, and that of other Orders at the present time, should not be forgotten.

8 *Defects* — Another writer, who has seen much of the missionaries and their work in South India speaks thus of weaknesses of the Catholic enterprise in the Empire. "The marked defects of Romanism in that land have been its concessions to and compromise with the religion of the land, both on the side of idolatrous worship and of caste observance. I have discussed the subject with Indian Roman Catholics in the villages and find that to them the worship of saints through their many obtrusive images is practically the same as the idolatry of the Hindus the only marked difference being in the greater size of the Romish images." In like manner the Jesuit has adopted and incorporated into his religion for the people of that land the Hindu caste system with all its hideous unchristian divisions. All this makes the bridge which separates Hinduism from Roman Catholic Christianity a very narrow one and it reduces to a minimum the process of conversion from the former faith to the latter. But an easy path from Hinduism to Christianity means an equally facile way of return to the ancestral faith. If the Hindu has little to surrender in becoming a Christian neither has such a Christian any serious obstacle to prevent his return to Hindu gods and ceremonies when it suits his convenience to do so. Hence it is that the new accessions to Romanism hardly exceed the number of those who leave it in order to resume their allegiance to the faith."²

¹ Hunter *Is d an Es pirc* p. 313

² Jones *Ind a s Problem* pp. 167, 168

IV EARLY DUTCH PROTESTANT EFFORT

1 *Work Done* — The Dutch East India Company was the first Protestant power to establish posts in India proper. Before the middle of the seventeenth century it was trading on the mainland, and in 1652 it had built the first Indian factory at Palakollu on the southeast coast. In its few settlements, extending from Cochin on the southwest to Chinsurah, north of Calcutta, it seems probable that some efforts were made to evangelize the people since the company "was distinctly bound by its state charter to care for the planting of the Church and the conversion of the heathen in the newly won possessions. Probably this was due to the remembrance of the converting activity of the Portuguese during their earlier dominion in the colonies, and perhaps its aim, in the first instance, was the winning of the outwardly Romanized natives for Protestantism. At the same time, the Protestant doctrine of the church power of civil rulers materially influenced such a conception of missions." Whatever work was done was undoubtedly of a piece with that carried on in Ceylon, where force or worldly benefits practically compelled conversion, and where "in every village the schoolhouse became the church, and the schoolmaster the registrar of documents involving the rights and succession to property. The number of children under instruction and baptized rose to 85,000. Nowhere was there any evidence of genuine conversion nor were there missionaries sufficient to give simple instruction in Christian truth."

2 *Warnings* — From the Ceylon work of the Dutch East India Company and the efforts in India, the Christian Church may learn valuable lessons. When its power was growing in the island world of Southeastern Asia

¹ Warneck *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions* p. 43.

² Smith *Conversion of India* pp. 75, 79.

Professor Walaëus established at Leyden his Indian Seminary for the proper preparation of missionary candidates. After twelve years it was discontinued, partly because of the expense to the Company,—which argument was not met by the Reformed Church with contributions to carry it on—and partly because the students “addressed themselves more to the conversion of the heathen than suited the colonial program of the Company.” It is not surprising, therefore, that few of the later men had little enthusiasm in the work, and that the majority of them left the field on the expiration of their five years’ contract with the Company. Dr George Smith, in accounting for the failure of early Dutch missions, lays stress on means which the missionaries practically neglected. “The watch words of the missionary must be these,—the vernacular Bible, vernacular preaching, daily teaching, the conversion of the individual, that he may in turn aggressively propagate the faith which he has received.” The opposite course produced then, as it has later and elsewhere, what the Amsterdam Classis of that day called *sine Christo Christians*,—Christless Christians.

V THE DANISH HALLE PIONEERS

I *Ziegenbalg, Plutschau, and Gründler*—The first Protestant missionaries from Europe to do effective work in India were two German Pietists, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, sent out by Denmark’s King, Frederick IV. Though the Danish East India Company had held Indian territory for eighty five years, until these two missionaries arrived in 1706, nothing of importance had been done for their heathen charges. While Ziegenbalg was ably seconded by Plutschau and Gründler, he was the strongest of the trio in most respects. In a letter to Chaplain Lewis of

¹ Warneck *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions* p. 44

² Smith *Conversion of India* p. 80

which they had to contend” Ziegenbalg’s return to Europe and his appearance unannounced before his monarch at the siege of Stralsund was dramatic in the extreme,² and hardly less noteworthy was his visit to George the First of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and other distinguished personages

Ziegenbalg’s Motto — The secret of this phenomenal activity, of which Ziegenbalg was the leading spirit he thus quaintly reveals “It has oftentimes made a comfortable Impression on my Mind, what Mr N left me for a Memorial in my Paper-Book to this Effect *Ideo nos facti sumus Christiani ut plus de futura quam de hac Vita laboremur*, ‘For this reason we are made Christians, that we should be more bent upon the Life to come than upon the Present’ This is my daily Memorandum lest I should perhaps forget, entirely to consecrate my Life and Actions to an invisible Eternity minding little the World either in its Glory and Smiles, or in its Frowns and Afflictions”

2 *Schwartz* — These early men had worthy successors in such missionaries as Schultze “a self willed man” Kiernander, later the distinguished founder of the work in Calcutta, the tireless itinerant, Gericke, and the talented linguist, Fabricius No man of that entire Danish Halle company can compare however, with Christian Friedrich Schwartz,—“a star of the first magnitude,” as Professor Warneck so justly calls him Arriving in South India in 1750, his abilities were such that in a few months he was as “busily engaged in missionary work, as though he had been for years accustomed to it He sets an excellent example to all young missionaries by commencing with a

¹ Sherring *History of Protestant Missions in India* p 3

² See W F Stevenson’s ‘Last Years of Ziegenbalg’ in *Good Words* for December 1872

³ *Propagation of the Gospel in the East Being an Account of Success of Two Danish Missionaries Lately Sent to the East* I

daily catechetical class attended by children of tender age. He says characteristically—Soon after the commencement of the new year I began a catechetical hour in the Tamil or Malabar school with the youngest lambs and thus I learned to stammer with them. At the same time I made almost daily excursions and spoke with Christians and heathens though as may be easily conceived poorly and falteringly. His incessant and important labors as philanthropist, statesman and Christian missionary are only hinted at in the inscription on his tomb at Tanjore.

To the memory of the

PETER CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH SCHWARTZ

Born Sonnenburg of Netmark in the kingdom of Prussia

The 28th October 1726

And died at Tanjore the 13th February 1798

In the 71st year of his age

Devoted from his early manhood to the office of Missionary in the East

The similarity of his situation to that of

The first preachers of the gospel

Produced in him a peculiar resemblance to

The simple sanctity of the

Apostolic character

His natural vivacity won the affection

As his unswerving piety and purity of life

At once commanded the reverence of the

Christian, Mahomedan and Hindu

For sovereign princes, Hindus and Mohammedans

Selected him a faithful pastor

As the medium of political negotiation with

The British Government

And the very marble that here records his virtues

Was raised by

The liberal affection and esteem of the

3 *Defects of the Danish Halle Mission* — Almost from the outset the Danish Halle mission became still further international in that its support came largely from England. Indeed, the labors of its missionaries might be more appropriately considered under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge especially, and the Church Missionary Society and the Leipsic Missionary Society, which ultimately took over the workers and the property of the Mission. The Danish King declined to render financial aid in 1825 at a time when the rationalizing tendencies of the King's College had seriously hampered the work, and thenceforward it was no longer Danish despite its nominal existence as such until 1845. The missionaries of this society were careful to emphasize instruction and cared for their new converts fairly well; they gave the people the *Bible* in the vernacular besides an abundance of helpful literature, in many cases they set a godly example before the people. What they did not do was to develop the native Church refusing for decades to place a native in charge of the congregations and when at last they broke over the rule appointing too few for careful oversight. Worse than this error of judgment was their attitude toward caste in which they were followers of the Romanists. The effect of lax discipline and temporizing policies is evident from the fact that although during the eighteenth century they had had on the field some fifty missionaries and had won about 50,000 converts their work had taken no firm root and hence it largely disappeared during the following century. It is probably true especially of the later missionaries that heart religion was almost wanting. Even of Kiernander Charles Grant could write: "I was brought under deep concern about the state of my soul. There was no person then living there from whom I could obtain any information as to the way of a sinner's salvation. After the veteran came to Calcutta

Grant applied to him "My anxious inquiries as to what I should do to be saved appeared to embarrass and confuse him exceedingly, and when I left him, the perspiration was running down his face in consequence, as it appeared to me, of his mental distress. He could not answer my questions." With incompetent guides, some of them holding to a merely human Jesus, the work could hardly survive in strength.

VI THE ANGLO SAXON BEGINNINGS

1 *East India Company — A Forerunner* — The Dutch East India Company had failed to accomplish much in the uplifting of India. Its sister Company from England greatly hindered the cause of true religion, though its beneficial effects through development of trade and the political and administrative activities of the Company, and through its legislation exceeded its harmful influence. As George Smith writes "It was used by the Sovereign Ruler of the human race to prepare the way and open up the door for the first hopeful and ultimately assuredly successful attempt since the Apostolic Church swept away paganism to destroy the idolatrous and Musalman cults of Asia."

Its Chaplains — The East India Company's helpful service to Christianity lay in its providing chaplains for its wards native as well as British. Not a few of these were thus described by Lord Teignmouth in 1795 "Our clergymen in Bengal with some exceptions, are not respectable characters. Their situation is arduous considering the general relaxation of morals from which a black coat is no security." Some of them however, were important factors in India's early evangelization. Among these were David Broome preacher to the elite of Calcutta society, who se-

¹ *Conversion of India* p. 97

² *Ibid.* p. 83

³ *Ibid.* p. 94

cured for Carey his professorship in Fort William College, *Claudius Buchanan*, whose *Christian Researches in Asia*, together with Brown's plan, drawn up in 1788 for a Church mission in India, gave birth to the greatest of Protestant missionary organizations, the Church Missionary Society, *Henry Martyn*, "saint and scholar," whose devotion, fervid zeal, and deep spirituality have led as many to become missionaries as David Brainerd's flaming life, *Daniel Corrie*, Martyn's friend and successor, who later became the first Bishop of Madras, and *Thomas Thomson*, a Bible translator and the father of a later Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Provinces, to whom "almost all the great officials and civilians of North India owed their impulse in favor of missions." Dr Warneck says of these five chaplains "By their personal piety and their biblical preaching, by courageously exposing and contending against the wretched circumstances of India, by their positive proposals for amelioration, and their open advocacy of the calumniated and persecuted missionaries, these men rendered pioneer service of the most effective character to Christianity to the Anglican Church, and to evangelical missions in India."¹

Christian Laymen — Among the secular officials of the Company were a number of men of high character and true missionary spirit. Such were Charles Grant, George Udry, and William Chambers. Grant had so great influence with Lord Cornwallis and was so at one with Wilberforce at home, that in 1813 India's Magna Charta of missions and of popular education was passed by Parliament. It was Udry who gave Carey asylum when he was in great need of a friend while Chambers as the Company's official Persian interpreter, began a translation of the Scriptures before any of the Serampore trio had landed in the country.

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Missions* vol. 1 p. 91

² Warneck *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions* p. 253

Legislation — While it is true that the Company was often hostile to religion, a prevalent charge against it is not well founded. The charge as commonly printed¹ does not even express the statement of Mr Bensley, one of the Directors, whose intemperate outburst did not receive the support of his fellow Directors. As an offset to the Company's lukewarmness and opposition to missions should be placed its beneficent legislation. "At no period in the history of the Christian Church, not even in the brilliant century of legislation from Constantine's edict of toleration to the Theodosian code, has Christianity been the means of abolishing so many inhuman customs and crimes as were suppressed in India by the Company's Regulations and Acts in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Christlike work kept rapid step with the progress of Christian opinion and beneficent reforms in Great Britain; but it was due in the first instance to the missionaries in India."²

2 *Scrampole Pioneers* — Thomas — William Carey was the leading spirit of the first British mission to India. This cobbler and son of a wool weaver landed at Calcutta on the tenth of November, 1793. Ten years earlier³ however, a Christian surgeon on "The Earl of Oxford," East Indiaman, one John Thomas by name, had inserted an advertisement in the *Indian Gazette*, calling for a Christian who would "assist in promoting a knowledge of

¹ With slight variations the quotation is as follows. "In 1793 the East India Company passed a resolution that the sending of missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest most extravagant most unwarrantable project that was ever proposed by a lunatic enthusiast." See Liggins *Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions* p. 81, Nicolson *New Acts of the Apostles* p. 260 Montgomery, *Foreign Missions* p. 25 Jones *India's Problem* p. 360 *Gospel Missionary* March 1901 *The Quaker* July 1903. *The Christian* August 13 1903. What Mr Bensley actually said was "So far from approving the clause or consenting to it with patience from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild extravagant expensive and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator."

² *South-Central India* p. 110.

Jesus Christ in and around Bengal" Charles Grant and his friends placed Thomas "at Goamalty, near Malda, where he translated part of the New Testament into Bengali and for three years worked successfully among the natives. But though spiritually minded and zealous Mr Thomas was an impracticable person to deal with. He was mystical and extravagant, irascible and bigoted, and he speculated so imprudently and became so involved in debts and liabilities, that Mr Grant was compelled to break off all connection with him"¹ Yet it was through Thomas that Carey was turned from the South Seas to India.

Carey — A boy who left the farm for the shop because he could not endure exposure to the sun would hardly have been expected to labor early and late for over forty years in the heats of Calcutta and Serampore. Carey not only did this, but he was also distinguished as naturalist, Orientalist, translator, author, professor, and mission administrator. When he and his medical associate, Dr Thomas, reached Calcutta, they found the work of Kiernander, whose support had come from the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in a comparatively prosperous condition, notwithstanding the veteran's great age and his pecuniary embarrassments. Besides the native Christian community which had been raised up Kiernander's charities had given Christianity a good name. Dr Thomas's medical work still further opened the Hindu heart to the new missionaries. Carey's first native convert — he had won a man of Portuguese descent some time before — was baptized at the close of 1800. This convert, Krishna Chandra Pal, is best known through Marshman's translation of one of his hymns, beginning,—

'O thou my soul forget no more
The friend who all thy sorrows bore
Let every idol be forgot
But O my soul forget Him not

¹ Hodder, *Conquests of the Cross* vol. 1. pp. 232-233

The Marshmans — Other distinguished members of the Serampore community, all of whom were connected with the Baptist Missionary Society, though for some years they were alienated from it, were Joshua Marshman and his wife Hannah. Joshua Marshman spent his time more largely in regular missionary work than did Carey. Like his more famous colleague he was a linguist of no mean ability, extending his labors to the Chinese, so that with the aid of Lassar, an Armenian from Macao, he published before Dr. Morrison did in China itself a translation of the Chinese Bible. He and his wife established a school, first for European children and later others for natives. In the latter, "the children were only taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, but with the view of giving enlargement to their minds, they were instructed in the more popular parts of geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy, in the leading facts of history, and the most important principles of morality, so that the system of education pursued in them was incomparably superior to anything known in the Hindu schools. Christian instruction, however, formed no part of the plan, as the missionaries were apprehensive that this would awaken the jealousy of the natives and probably defeat the whole scheme." At Serampore they had established a normal school for training the natives to teach according to Western methods, and in a short time they had a hundred schools with 8,000 children under their care. Later they found that such schools did not realize the expectations which were formed of them, and they were to a great extent given up. Hannah Marshman's work for girls of foreign parentage led through the object lessons afforded and by the contributions of her pupils to the establishment in 1820 of the first school for Hindu girls in Calcutta and apparently the third for native girls in all

¹ Brown *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen* vol. II p. 57

abstain from those things which would increase their prejudices against the Gospel, (4) that we watch all opportunities of doing good, (5) that we keep to the example of Paul and make the great subject of our preaching, Christ the Crucified, (6) that the natives should have an entire confidence in us and feel quite at home in our company, (7) that we build up and watch over the souls that may be gathered, (8) that we form our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius and cherishing every gift and grace in them, especially advising the native churches to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, (9) that we labor with all our might in forwarding translations of the sacred Scriptures in the languages of India and that we establish native free schools and recommend these establishments to other Europeans, (10) that we be constant in prayer and the cultivation of personal religion to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labors. Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing heathen without whose salvation nothing could make him happy. (11) that we give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and His cause.¹

3 *American Pioneers—Judson, a Baptist*—The first contingent from America arrived in India in June 1812, the party including Mr and Mrs Judson and Rev Samuel Newell, with his better-known girl-wife, Harriet Atwood Newell. Of the first of these a distinguished Scotch authority, who calls him "the greatest of all American missionaries" thus writes "Admiral Judson is surpassed by no missionary since the Apostle Paul in self-devotion and scholarship, in labors and perils, in saintli-

¹ Smith *Short History of Christian Missions* p. 166 (1890 edition)

ness and humility in the result of his toils on the future of an empire and its multitudinous peoples. He took possession of Burma for Christ when only a strip of its coasts had become the nucleus of the eastern half of the British Empire of India and he inspired his native country to found two great missionary societies. Being strongly influenced by the work of his fellow Bapists at Serampore he wrought out in Burma under the American Baptist Missionary Union a very similar program. His carefully translated Burman Bible is a more creditable monument than many of the hasty and imperfect versions of the Serampore brotherhood for Judson had a "law" for finishing.

Gordon Hall a Congregationalist — Though five men had sailed to India in 1812 as the missionaries of the American Board Judson and Rice became Baptists on their arrival or *en route*. Of the remaining three Gordon Hall was the strongest man. Until the new charter of the East India Company went into effect more than a year later he and his associates were without any legal standing in India and were in dire straits, but from 1814 onward they were at liberty to prosecute their work at Bombay on the west coast thanks to the efforts of the now venerable Charles Grant. Hall's thirteen years of labor brought into temples and bazaars alike the Gospel message and gave the Marathi New Testament to many millions. No missionary in Western India wrote one some years ago has ever been more respected among the Brahmans and higher classes for his discussions and pulpit discourses. Among the strongest influences in awakening America to her missionary obligation in the early part of the last century were his letters to Andover Seminary students and his tract *The Conversion of the World or the Claims of Six Hundred Millions*. The work which his associates at Bombay found most useful

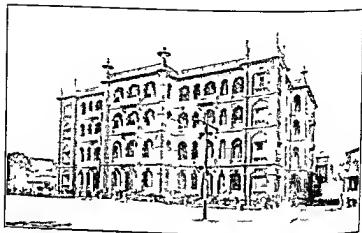
was that of literature and the press which in a small way was to Western India what the world of Serampore was to Eastern India.

John Scudder Dutch Reformed — Five years before the veteran Schwartz died a child was born in New Jersey who was destined to head an illustrious family of American missionaries to India. When Dr John Scudder was waiting one day in the ante room of a lady patient he picked up Gordon Hall's tract just mentioned and seven years after Hall had sailed he took passage under the American Board for the same land though it was in Ceylon where he spent a number of years in medical missionary service. At Madras he established a work of great value. No stronger more versatile or more successful missionary pioneer ever evangelized a people as healer preacher teacher and translator in season and out of season. He lived in praying and working till although he knew it not he realized his ambition even in this world to be one of the inner circle around Jesus. Such a man had sons and children's children like himself to the fourth generation. There was not a town in South eastern India which had not heard the Gospel of Christ from his lips. There was not a village to which the publications of his Tamil press had not penetrated while his descendants worked by his side and took up his mantle. At home he was especially distinguished as the children's favorite missionary. It is said that he addressed at least 100,000 Sunday school children in 1843 many of whom in later years became missionaries themselves largely because of his early influence. Though sent out by the American Board he belonged to the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America which until 1877 worked in co operation with the American Board. He and some of his descendants are counted as the brightest stars in the galaxy of missionaries whom his Church has sent of old

VII INDIAN CHRISTIANITY OF THE LAST CENTURY

1 *Other Early Societies* — In the preceding sketch reference has been made to pioneer work and to one or organization or society from each Church. This plan has prevented any mention of the early workers of the London Missionary Society, which entered India in the person of Mr Forsyth a year before Marshman and his associates landed at Calcutta or of that of the Christian Knowledge Society, which in addition to supporting Danish Halle missionaries had commissioned Ringeltaube at the time of Marshman's appointment. For the same reason no mention is made here of the Church Missionary Society whose first India representatives began work in Madras only two years after the American Board's missionaries arrived at Calcutta nor can anything be said of the valuable services of three other important societies all of which had begun their work before the first quarter of last century had closed namely that of the English Wesleyans and of the Scotch Presbyterians and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In what has been said of this pioneer stage the reader will find the germs of all subsequent work done by the missionaries of the Empire. Later chapters will set forth methods and problems confronting the nearly one hundred Protestant societies laboring in India as well as state the results of missionary work and present the opportunities alluring them onward. Only a few general remarks need be added to this division of the subject.

2 *Seventy five Years* — Dividing the remainder of the century into periods of twenty five years each we find that of the societies still at work in India thirteen entered upon their work between 1826 and 1850. Four of them were American five were British and four were Ger-



Central Young Men's Christian Association Building, Madras



Young Women's Christian Association Building, Bombay

man During this period two women's societies entered the field, the Church of Scotland Women's Association and the Women's Society for Christian Female Education in Eastern Countries, of Berlin During the years 1851-1875 eight American societies, nine from Great Britain, two from Denmark, two from Germany, and three organized in India itself placed its workers in the field,—a total of twenty four societies Since 1876 almost fifty new societies have entered the Empire, all of them being represented by a comparatively small number of missionaries except the Christian and Missionary Alliance of the United States, the Presbyterians of Canada, the Evangelical National Society of Sweden and the Brecklum Evangelical Lutheran Society of Schleswig-Holstein During these years three new forms of effort were represented for the first time in the Empire The India Sunday school Union, which from 1876 has cared for the Sunday school interests of the land, the work for young men and women as carried on by representatives of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America and Great Britain, and of the World's Young Women's Christian Association, and the United Society of Christian Endeavor

3 *Sepoy Mutiny* — One event in these years did much to change the current of missionary effort. "In the first century's history of the evangelical conversion of India," writes George Smith, "the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 opened a new period It tested by persecution the reality and the character of the faith of the converts It proved to be a call to the conscience of Christendom The number of white Christians known or believed to have been butchered by the mutineers and their brutal agents was 1,500, of whom thirty seven were missionaries, chaplains, and their families Not one instance can be cited of failure to confess Christ by men and women very often of weak physique and but yesterday of the same faith as their murderers The only known cases in which life was pur-

in India at the time of the last census excluding the Eurasians and European and allied races numbered 866 985. The church affiliations of these native Protestant Christians were as follows

Anglicans	305 907	Presbyterians	47 799
Baptists	216 743	Congregationalists	37 313
Lutherans	153 768	Salvationists	18 847
Methodists	68 451	Minor sects	73 157

An English writer, commenting on these statistics, remarks. It will be noticed that nearly half the Christians under 'Minor sects' are stated to belong to the 'London Mission'. This is evidently the London Missionary Society and the number 10 321 should be added to the 37 313 Congregationalists who otherwise are surprisingly few. Moreover, we expect that about 18 000 out of the 59 810 'Protestants' of Travancore who are credited to the Church of England really belong to the London Missionary Society, and that these also should be added to the Congregationalists. But probably some of those whose denomination is not returned should be credited to the Church of England so that we do not suppose the total number of Anglicans is overstated.

6 *Government and Christianity* — The British power in India provides to some extent for the religious needs of its wards. This it does with a view not to converting the natives but to provide for the spiritual wants of its European soldiers and officials as it provides for their medical requirements. The Indian Government maintains no Roman Catholic establishments. But certain of the thirty Roman Catholic bishops receive allowances for furnishing ecclesiastical military returns and certain priests for services rendered to the troop. The government ecclesiastical staff is distributed among the military and official centers while the other societies

endeavor to supply the wants of the smaller stations particularly the little clusters of Europeans along the line of railway and in the planting districts. Taken together and including Roman Catholics and Protestants they numbered in 1891 to 168 000 Europeans and 79 842 Eurasians according to Sir Thomas Hope's tables, total, 247 842.¹ This provision for Europeans should be remembered when the criticism is brought against missionaries by travelers that they neglect their own people in their zeal for evangelizing the natives.

7 *Advance in a Century* — The last chapter will show in some detail the technical gains of the last century but there are some general points that may be mentioned here which show the progress in Christian conceptions during this period. The nineteenth century opened with the new emphasis of the brotherhood of believers a brotherhood that would not brook the views and practices of Catholics and some of the Protestants of the previous century. While caste still is one of Protestantism's sternest problems it has practically disappeared as a factor to be winked at or even encouraged. Similarly, the compromise with Hinduism which Catholicism had been guilty of and which influenced Protestants early in the century by making them fear to antagonize native religious views has given place to a better understanding of the strong points of native religions and the true relation to them of Christianity. Missionaries no longer hesitate to use native terms of religious import, and their method of approach is more Pauline and less unreasonable. The ceremonial and formal factors in Christianity have largely changed during the century, and the more spiritual elements of the Christ life are placed at the forefront. If the dangers of the life beyond for the unrepentant are less often preached than they were a hundred years ago, the life which is hid with Christ in God and which is a prepara-

¹ Hunter *Indian Empire* pp. 319, 320.

tion for the bliss of heaven is more insisted on. Cooperation and fellowship have made rapid advances during the period and thus markedly differentiate the work now from that of seventy five years ago. Educational work and the value of literature, which Protestants have appreciated from the outset, have made vast gains even during the last thirty years.

8 *An Official Estimate* — What Christianity has accomplished may be expressed quite as eloquently in general terms as in Arabic numerals. One such estimate of the work of Christians is found in the Report of the Secretary of State for India, presented to the House of Commons in 1892. "The various lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas, not only on purely religious questions but on the nature of evil the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. Insensibly a higher standard of moral conduct is becoming familiar to the people, especially to the young which has been set before them not merely by public teaching, but by the millions of printed books and tracts which are scattered widely through the country. This view of the general influence of their teaching and of the greatness of the revolution which it is silently producing is not taken by the missionaries alone. It has been accepted by many distinguished residents in India, and experienced officers of the Government."¹

¹ Quoted by Thompson and Johnson *British Foreign Missions* p. 39

2 *Bazaar Preaching* — It is on the busy streets of an Indian city that one is most put to the test as a preacher, for the mela preaching is left out of the count. The haggling of buyers and sellers, the bustle of people coming and going, the attacks of a hostile Brahman in a public place are factors which make the task most difficult to a foreigner using an unfamiliar language. Dr Stewart thus describes the work in the Punjab. 'It must not be supposed by any that quietness is the distinguishing characteristic of a bazaar audience. Far from it. Many persons, indeed listen respectfully and make no signs of either approval or disapproval. But it is different with others. A few exhibit astonishment at the good news. Some, especially Hindus, will cry out, 'That's all true, or 'The Sahib's right,' or 'Your religion is good for you and ours is good for us, let every one follow the path that his fathers trod.' Some will ask questions—often of the most difficult or irrelevant character—and try to embarrass the preacher, or get up a hugh at his expense. Some—Mohammedans, bigots, or Aryans for instance—will present objections, or flatly contradict the speaker reading perhaps out of the *Koran*, or an infidel book to establish their points, and frequently bystanders of this class will try to break up the meeting or turn it into an assemblage for the propagation of their own religious views. Occasionally, too, they carry their violence so far that the police are asked to interfere and quell disturbance. As might be supposed, therefore, every one does not make a good bazaar preacher. Ready wit, a quick ear, and a nimble tongue are necessary for success in this capacity, also that mysterious power by which men can naturally overawe opposition and keep a restless audience under control.'

3 *Itinerating* — A wider form of evangelism is effected through journeying from place to place and pur

suing in villages and towns a work similar to that just named. The romance of itineration comes from the tent form of life. This, however, is expensive, since if it is thoroughly done, the party must take a number of tents and the proper furnishings. On arriving at a village the tents are pitched near by, and there the work is carried on. A preaching pavilion has been provided. As the party remain from two days to a week, systematic visitation of the villages near may be pretty thoroughly done. Often missionaries, instead of taking tents, go to the public room or house of the places visited, and by living in the midst of the people, they are able to do more satisfactory work as well as reduce the expense. The most fruitful plan, however, is that commonly adopted after itineration has secured a regular constituency and settled forms of work. There will then be in most of the villages visited some room or building belonging to the mission or loaned them by native Christians, which they make their headquarters. When the work has reached this stage, evangelistic effort becomes somewhat subordinate. "The whole round of missionary duties, as far as possible, must be carried along with the party and fully discharged. Schools must be inspected, native Christians must be examined, new converts must be baptized, communion services must be held, homes for village workers and houses for village churches must be secured, reports must be received or prepared, accounts must be kept, correspondence must not be neglected, and mothers must see to the instruction of their children."

Drawbacks — Lest any should regard missionary touring as a pleasure jaunt, another quotation is added. "Sometimes the sun at midday makes it too hot for people to remain in tents and drives them under the shade of an umbrageous tree. Occasionally rain pours down in such quantities that the tents and much of their contents are

¹ Stewart *Life and Work in India* p. 291



Itinerating Tent and Outfit—Haiderabad



Street Preaching—Women's Work

completely saturated and it becomes impossible either to move the encampment or to occupy it in comfort. Sometimes the wind and dust storms give a good deal of trouble. Now and then village officers are unfriendly and greatly obstruct our movements. Sometimes thieves enter our tents and carry away valuables. Sometimes the night is made fearful by the howling of jackals, dogs, and even wolves. Now and then the smells of a locality become unendurable. Sometimes mad dogs, or crazy fakirs give great annoyance, especially to ladies. Often too the annoyance felt from a continual stream of native visitors becomes painful.

Band Work — Instead of going in a company with a single center of work, members of an itinerating band of missionaries may follow the plan described by Rev. Mr. Meadows of the Church Missionary Society in South India. "There were three of us English missionaries. We lived in the north of Tinnevely and had a district that was about 1,400 square miles in extent. We purposely made it small, in order that we might be able to go backwards and forwards all through, again and again, and this district of about 1,400 square miles contained about 1400 villages and towns and a population of a little more than 270,000 people. We lived in our tents all the year round, though it was very hot indeed at some times of the year. Each of us had his own tent and each tent was pitched at a distance of eight or ten miles from the other. We had each to help us a native brother, and these native brethren, too, had their own tents, and they also had their tents ten miles perhaps apart from each other. We always met together once a fortnight in order to confer and pray together. We stayed at a place a week, and every morning and every evening we got on our horses and rode to a village and preached in the street."¹

¹ Stewart *Life and Work in India* pp. 191-19.

² *Report of the Centenary Conference London 1859* vol. 1 pp. 39-40.

Native Bands — A modified form of the above method is that by which a company of native workers usually theological students or catechists go out under the leadership of a single missionary. Mr G. S. Eddy thus speaks of the work of the band which he had in charge.

We are out among the villages far from railway or white man with a score of earnest theological students preaching from morning to night from village to village in the joy of carrying the Gospel to a thousand souls a day. We spend the hot noon hours studying in the tents in the shade of some little grove. Every few days we strike camp and move on until our month's itinerary is over. So we go on from month to month through the ten stations of the Madura Mission till our year's work is done.

The village like an isolated republic, isolated and self-sufficient as ignorant of all the world as it in turn by the world is ignored unknown. The sun marks the time of its uneventful lazy hours as the children play and the dogs sleep in the sunshine. Suddenly every dog is awake and with the din of howls and barking arouse the village at our arrival. We come with our own violin and a song and are followed down the street by the curious crowd. Arrived at the market place we continue to sing till all the people are gathered. Then one by one we try to tell the simple story that can change their lives. The people sit around chewing betel leaf or cleaning their teeth for the morning with a stick or nodding approval as we proceed. For of all the people of the world they are the most gentle and tolerant. But spiritually their life is sunken and sordid and needs beyond all words. The simplest ideas of spiritual religion seem beyond them except as God supernaturally reveals them as we preach.

We preach and one strikes his stomach — the center of all his life and thoughts — and says, 'Will your God give us food without work?' 'Food and work they understand but not sin and

'salvation' What can we do for such degraded people? Save them! ¹ During the following year Mr Eddy could report more than a thousand professed conversions in this and more settled work ²

Stereopticon Work — An important auxiliary used in itineration as well as at the stations is the stereopticon. This makes night work when the multitudes are at leisure the most profitable form of effort. When the people are argumentative or hostile the lantern pictures secure quiet. The late Norman Russell of Canada makes the value of this form of teaching very clear as also his way of using the stereopticon. Usually on entering a large town or village we take a few photographs of familiar scenes—the bazaar the temple or a group of schoolboys—and preparing slides at our tents throw them upon the screen much to the delight of the amazed villagers who are led thereby to give all the more attention to the Gospel pictures. It is marvelous the widespread fascination of the lantern meeting. Dignified officials who would not deign to pause and listen to a bazaar talk will have their chairs brought out and give close attention to the explanation of the pictures. I remember one evening a number of haughty Brahmans so eager to be present at our meeting as to sit down under the shelter of the darkness with low caste Chamars and on the latter's veranda. The villager is fond of anything in the nature of *tamasha* he loves to see the changing colors on the sheet the pictures and his dull sense in understanding the unfamiliar story and he will stand patiently for an hour or more in the chill atmosphere of the market place to see and hear the Gospel message ³. At the great *mela*s or gatherings for commercial purposes or to celebrate some religious event

¹ *Missionary Review of the World* April 1902 pp. 262-63

² *Interco* again October 1903 p. 4

³ Russell *Lantern Work in India* pp. 46-8

the lantern furnishes an attraction almost equal to the mela itself. It thus supplements the work in the missionary's preaching tent and has the additional advantage of securing an even larger audience and greater quiet.

4 *Visiting Homes* — A feature of the work of reaching the masses with the Gospel, which in many sections is being more emphasized than bazaar and mela preaching is that of house to house visitation alluded to in connection with itineration. Though women missionaries adopt this method more often than men, it can be done by gentlemen. Yet as Bishop Thoburn remarks "the most successful workers are comparatively obscure Hindustani preachers who go and sit down at the doors of a native hut or perhaps in a courtyard into which a number of little humble dwellings open and talk with the people sing if permitted to do so and possibly engage in prayer with them. The converts are often won after long personal intercourse one by one by these workers. In other words our preaching in India seems to be drifting back more and more toward early standards."

5 *Madras Resolutions* — At the Decennial Conference at Madras held in 1902, the following convictions as to the important place of evangelistic effort in the missionary scheme were expressed. Your committee is not unmindful that there are many useful methods of evangelistic work and would encourage all ways and means of carrying the Gospel to the people. Missions, Bible classes, house to house visitation, quiet work in the wards of the town or city — all these and other ways have been blessed. But whatever method be used it should not be forgotten that the masses of the people live in the villages are cultivators of the soil and are illiterate. In order to reach the masses, it is necessary to itinerate extensively and to preach in the open air. For this work all the men who are fam-

with the languages, religions, and customs of the people, and who can 'rightly divide the word of truth,' should be selected

This work can be carried on mainly in two ways, namely, by the location of qualified evangelists in stations from which a number of villages may be regularly visited, and also by the organizing of itinerating bands working under competent leaders"¹

II. WORK FOR INDIA'S WOMEN

1 *Lady Missionaries and Bible Women* — Closely akin to the evangelistic work for the general community just named is that for the women. The importance attached to this form of effort may be judged from the fact that during the past decade the number of foreign and Eurasian women missionaries in India and Burma has increased almost seventy per cent, and for the first time they outnumber the corresponding male agency. During the same period the Hindu and Burman Bible women increased over fifty eight per cent, and are more than four times as numerous as the foreign and Eurasian force. As for their efficiency, the Madras Conference report says "In India it is probable that the larger half of aggressive work can be better done by women, and it is a matter of thankfulness that the women workers outnumber the men"²

Their Task and Its Importance — The task awaiting these women and the lady missionaries is suggested by Dr Stewart's words, which are almost as true of all India as of the Punjab. "Perhaps twice as many men as women have been baptized. This has been due, not only to the greater intelligence of the male sex in that country and the more frequent opportunities which they have had for getting light, but also probably to the more

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference, 1902* pp 77 78

² *Ibid.*, p 29

some and out of others, and we wonder which house we would better make for. We stop before one a shade cleaner than most, and larger and more open.

"'May we come in?' Chorus, 'Come in! oh, come in!'" and in we go. It is a tiny narrow slip of a room. At one end there is a fire burning on the ground, the smoke finds its way out through the roof, and a pot of rice set on three stones is bubbling cheerfully. No fear of defilement here. They would not like us to touch their rice, or to see them eating it, but they do not mind our being in the room where it is being cooked. At the other end of the narrow slip there is a goat pen not very clean, and down one side there is a raised mud place where the family apparently sleep. This side and the two ends are roofed by palmyra palm. It is dry and crackles at a touch, and you touch it every time you stand up, so bits of it are constantly falling and helping to litter the open space below.

"Five babies at different stages of refractoriness are sprawling about on this strip of floor. They make noises all the time. Half a dozen imbecile looking old women crowd in through the low door and stare and exchange observations. Three young men with nothing particular to do lounge at the farther end of the platform near the goats. A bright girl, with more jewelry on than is usual among Pariahs, is tending the fire at the end near the door, she throws a stick or two on as we enter and hurries forward to get a mat. We sit down on the mat, and she sits beside us, and the usual questions are asked and answered by way of introduction. There is a not very clean old woman diligently devouring betel another with an enormous mouth, which she always holds wide open, another with a very loud voice and a shock of unspeakable hair. But they listen fairly well till a goat creates a diversion by making a remark and a baby—a jolly little scrap in its nice brown skin and a

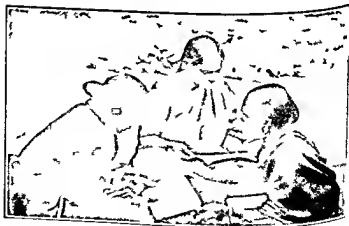
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Zenaia Workers—North India



Bible Woman and Pupils—South India

"The three men begin to shuffle their feet and talk about other things, the old mother in law proposes betel all round and hands us some grimy looking leaves with a pressing invitation to partake. The various onlookers make remarks, and the girl devotes herself to her baby. But she is thinking, one can see old memories are stirred. At last with a sigh she gets up, looks round the little indifferent group, goes over to the fireplace, and blows up the fire. This means we had better say salaam, so we say it, and they say it, adding the usual 'Go and come'.

"It will be easier to help these people out of their low levels than it will be to help their masters of the higher walks of life. But to do anything genuine or radical among either set of people is never really easy. 'It takes the Ideal to blow a hair's breadth off the Dust of the Actual' It takes more. It takes God. It takes God to do anything anywhere."

3 *In Zenanas* — The work for those in genuine zenanas differs from that described mainly in the great formality of wealthy homes and in the smaller number who can be reached at a given visit. Moreover, it may be necessary for the missionary to offer inducements such as giving lessons in fancy work and the more powerful allurements of teaching the inmates to read in order to be assured of a continuously open door. Naturally, the ladies of these secluded homes are far more ignorant of the outer world than their poor neighbors and hence more time must be taken to answer questions of curiosity. Native Bible women are not as acceptable as foreign ladies in such work, since many aristocratic women wish nothing but the best and also because native workers can not satisfy their curiosity as well as one from across the sea.

4 *Teaching in Homes* — Teaching in the homes can be best accomplished in zenanas, for the reason that wealthy

³ Carmichael *Things As They Are Mission Work in Southern India* pp 57-60

ladies have greater leisure; yet it is also done in the poorest families. Where it is possible to induce girls to attend a mission school, they are not taught at home, but there are very many who can not or will not attend such schools and the work must be carried to them. One can assure that what the women and girls know is scarcely more than a child of six knows in Christian lands, and that method — barring those of the kindergarten — will be successful that are in use for children at home. Most of the teaching done is with the object of enabling the women and girls to read for themselves, and to impart a knowledge of the Bible. This latter knowledge is not so much desired, and may be necessary to first make them feel its value. A single illustration of how this may be done is quoted from Miss Bernard of Poona. 'In the villages there is usually some idol shrine in sight. I have found this arrest attention. 'I see a god there, yours, is it not so?' Some died in your village yesterday or last week. Did that god of yours send for him? Did he go to him?' The answer is always, 'No, not to him, but to the Upper God.' 'And your god, you too are going to die some day, you will have to go to that Upper God. Do you know Him? Will He come with me to England?' You say, 'No, I don't know any one there, how can I?' 'True, but you will have to go to an unknown God, in an unknown country, by an unknown way. Had you not better in time learn to know Him?'

III EDUCATIONAL WORK

1 *Vernacular Schools — Aims* — So soon as the fruits of effort above described have brought forth their legitimate fruit, there is laid upon the Church the necessity of developing the material furnished. Christian education

¹ Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference held Bombay 1892-93 p. 318

renders this service and it also is a direct feeder to the Church. The main objects of the vernacular schools as distinguished from those in which English is the medium of instruction are thus set forth in the Madras Conference Report: 'According to the testimony of the various missions vernacular education serves a twofold purpose in mission economy. A vernacular school is one of the best means of opening up evangelistic work in a village. The high respect in which a teacher is held in this country and the great desire which the people have for education give the teacher in a village school a unique opportunity and if he is the right kind of a man he can do much in helping to extend the Kingdom of Christ. The Wesleyan missions of Ceylon estimate that directly or indirectly they owe about sixty five per cent of their converts to the vernacular schools. The other purpose which vernacular schools serve is to fit our Christians to read the Word of God. And again by learning to read and write Christians will be able to raise their position in society and make themselves more useful members of the community. We urge a sustained effort to educate all our Christian youth to read and write at least. We recognize that in the increased attention which Government is paying to primary education at present there is a great opportunity for missions to extend their work in this direction.'¹

Varieties — The vernacular schools usually are for a single sex but are sometimes intended for both boys and girls the mixed school being more economical as well as furnishing a girl with an escort in her brother. Some of these institutions are conducted in the interests of the non-Christians while others are strictly confined to children of Christians. On the whole however separate schools for boys and girls and open to Christians and non Christians alike are most satisfactory. There are also government schools and many others conducted by missionaries

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference 190* p. 37

through grants in aid, received from the Government. This assistance coming from the state makes it necessary for those schools receiving it to conform the curriculum to government standards. While this affects the secondary and higher institutions unfortunately, it is of advantage to the primary schools. In no non-Christian land except possibly Japan is education so well cared for as India. This does not prove that education is widely disseminated, however, for in 1901 there were only 1473 institutions all told with 4417,422 scholars. That means that but one person out of every sixty six is under instruction, and of that number almost three fourths are in schools of the primary grade.¹ This fact and the further consideration that only a trifle more than fifteen per cent of India's schools are public, the remainder being either aided or private and unaided, show the need of missionary vernacular schools.

2 *Higher Institutions* — These are in most cases boarding schools, institutions for helpers, or colleges. The latter are often affiliated to one of the five Government Universities, the Universities being merely examining bodies and having no instructional work. English is used in practically all of these institutions and is the avenue not only to government positions, but it also opens up to the student a field of religious and other literature which is of the utmost helpfulness. While the University Examinations, toward which most students look, minimize or wholly ignore the Christian instruction given in missionary colleges and make secular studies and proficiency in English of supreme importance the value of their work from a missionary point of view is as great to-day as when Alexander Duff the first great advocate of higher education, propounded this thesis, his comparison being between the work of the evangelistic missionary and that of the Christian educator. While you engage in direct

¹ *Statesman's Year Book* 1903 p. 143

separating as many atoms from the mass as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, we shall with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine and the setting of a train, which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths."

Aitchison's Testimony — While there is no question about the value of the schools intended for the preparation and training of catechists and native pastors a perennial controversy has been waged over the use of English in the earlier time and until the present as to the advisability of carrying on missionary colleges with the handicaps due to government regulations and influences. Few utterances of the past twenty years have so forcefully and authoritatively put the case as the following, coming from a former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab Sir Charles U Aitchison LL.D. "In my judgment the value of educational missionary institutions, in the present transition state of Indian opinion, can hardly be overrated. The importance of mission schools and colleges is even greater now than when Duff initiated his educational policy and converted a reluctant General Assembly to his views. His argument then was, that Hinduism is so wedded to a cosmogony demonstrably false, that Western education of any kind became a direct missionary agency, effective at least in overthrowing the false religions. Experience has amply justified his views — so much so that, in the work of destroying the heathen beliefs the government secular schools, the railways and the telegraphs, have done as effective work as the missionaries themselves. Educated Hindu society is honeycombed with unbelief, and the great question of the day in India is, What will take the place of the Hindu gods? Hence a growing Buddhist optimism, hence the revival of Vedantic deism, hence the Brahma Samaj and other theistic societies, hence, too, the inquiry

¹ Smith *Life of Alexander Duff* DD LL.D. vol. I pp. 108 109

and searching into the Christian Scriptures, which go on in India to an extent which those who ignore mission have no conception of. If the breach that has been made is filled up,—if, in place of Hinduism we have agnosticism, or even a positive but unchristian belief with which physical science is not necessarily in antagonism—the Christian Church will have to do all the sapping and mining over again, while, instead of the crumbling old fortresses of heathenism, we shall have in front of us strong fortifications, held and defended with weapons of precision forged in our own arsenals. It is of primary importance now, just at the time that the Government of India itself is looking anxiously round for some means of supplementing the deficiencies of its own secular system of education, to get hold of the youth of India and impregnate them with Christian truth. They are the generations in whose hands the immediate future of India will lie and the importance of bringing them under direct Christian influences is beyond all calculation. We want institutions like the Cambridge Mission College at Delhi, the American Mission College at Lahore, and the Established Church and Free Church Institutions at Calcutta multiplied over the country.¹

Anti Christian Education — Christian missions must consider also the efforts being put forth by opposers of Christianity toward the combating of its truths through education. The late S H Kellogg, D D, says concerning such education: "The anti Christian spirit of modern India is using high Anglo vernacular education for its own ends and is establishing large high class schools and colleges on an avowedly anti Christian basis. An illustration is the Mohammedan College in Aligarh, Northwest Provinces, founded by that eminent Mohammedan gentleman, lately deceased, Sir Saiyid Ahmad. Another example is the large college of the Arya Samaj in Lahore. This has

¹ See the *Conversion of India* pp 187, 188

to students the largest of any college in Lahore and prepares men to pass B. A. and other examinations in the Punjab University. The avowed aim of the institution is to promote the philosophical and religious principles inculcated by the late Pundit Dayanand Sarasvati, founder of the Samaj. To this end in addition to the studies required to pass the various examinations of the University, all students must devote three and Sanskrit students four periods a week to the study of the Arya doctrines. Than the Arya Samaj, Christianity has no more deadly enemy in India. In its active and unceasing hostility to all missionary effort, it can only be compared with Islam. The question then returns to us. Should we allow men who graduate from such colleges to remain under the impression that to the anti-Christian argument drawn from modern science and philosophy evangelical Christians have no answer to give and that science has vanquished Christianity? Ought we not in the persons of living teachers and preachers of the Word rather show that so far from being destructive of faith in the Gospel it is quite possible for an educated man to accept honestly all that is accepted by the consensus of scholars as settled fact in science and yet believe none the less firmly that Jesus Christ rose from the dead the third day, according to our Gospel and therewith all the other great truths as to man's ruin and redemption which Christ and His apostles so indubitably taught?

Woman's Education — The higher education of Hindu girls and young women has been brought about after long struggles against native prejudice and even Christian criticism. Naturally the objection was strongest against the colleges and not until 1886 was the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow established by Miss Thoburn of the Methodists of the United States. This first Christian college for women known in Asia — a wholly secular one had been established at Calcutta some time before — was followed

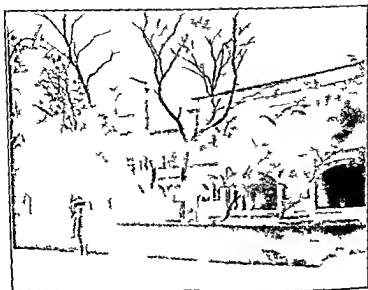
by another in 1890, the Sarah Tucker College of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, located at Palamcottah. Every worker in such colleges shares to a degree in the eulogium of Dr. Oldham, passed upon the founder of the Lucknow institution, Miss Thoburn. "The patient, earnest worker had won her battle against misunderstandings and questions on the one hand and on the other against the stolid, apathetic indifference to woman's training that characterizes Indian society. Not the least contribution which her work has made to the progress of that great people, to whom she gave thirty one years of her fruitful life, is the keen desire of the male workers to find educated wives and the equally earnest resolve of the Indian pastors and leaders to give their daughters the best possible training. To have borne conspicuous part in transforming any portion of Indian society, so that those who a generation or two ago looked upon women as little above the clods of the earth should now begin to covet college training for them is surely to have secured very large returns from a life's investment. She found an infant Christian Church gathered mainly from the poor and unprivileged, she found the women of this Church illiterate, burdened, incapable of much progress, she took the girls and made from them a new type of Indian women such as were never dreamed of." Unfortunately the high privileges of women's colleges are enjoyed by only one fiftieth as many students as are found in Christian colleges for young men.² Yet this lack is partly made up by the advantages gained from study in 166 boarding schools having 13,514 pupils.³

Trained Educators — The increasing importance of the educational work in India makes a new demand upon the missions and the home Church. This is voiced in a reso-

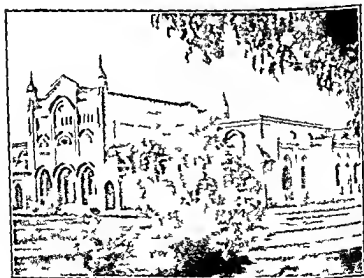
¹ *Effective Workers in Needy Fields* p. 107

² *Denn's Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions* p. 265

³ *Protestant Missions in India Burma and Ceylon Statistical Tables*



The Isabella Thoburn College Lucknow



Forman Christian College Lahore

lution passed at Madras in 1902. The Conference would press upon mission committees the necessity of seeing that educational missionaries are trained to teach. The educational missionary must henceforth be regarded much more as a specialist like the medical and artisan missionary requiring a preliminary training in his speciality. It is the more important because the grade of mission institutions and the grants in aid depend upon pedagogical ability.

3 *Industrial Education* — Although industrial education has been carried on by the London Missionary Society at Nagerecoil beginning in 1823 under the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society at Calicut and Mangalore from 1844 and 1846 respectively and by the American Baptists at Bassein Burma since 1861 the special development of this form of education lies within a few years. Thus twenty three of the fifty four such institutions reported by Dr Dennis² have been established since the beginning of 1890. This is largely due to the demands of an increasing church membership and the necessities of famine and plague years. Womanly industries and the ordinary trades are taught at these schools usually in connection with the most important branches of a general education. The ideal which the missionaries have in mind in those schools giving trade instruction is as follows. This Conference is of opinion that all definite trade instruction should rest on the basis of a sound general education the aim of which from the first should be to educate to their fullest extent the powers of hand and eye as being calculated to develop those faculties in the pupils which will be of the greatest service to them as artisans and imbue them with a taste for manual pursuits.³ It does not cease with the training of the school but prepares students for the actual work in a native shop or mission factory.

Report of the Madras Conference 1902 pp 85 86

² Dennis *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions* pp 108

³ *Report of the Madras Conference* p 141

IV MEDICAL MISSIONARY EFFORT

1 *The Field and Need* — In view of the fact that Great Britain's rulers have provided to some extent medical aid for India's millions, it may seem superfluous to emphasize the work of medical missions in this field. Dr Dennis has this to say of the need of competent practitioners in that Empire: "Sickness is often ascribed to demons, or to the anger of gods and goddesses who are thought to preside over epidemics, and who must be propitiated in order to secure their suppression. 'Killed by ignorance' is still the verdict in numberless cases of fatality, and when we remember that the total number of deaths in India every year is between five and six millions, we can appreciate how disastrous are the results of quackery, which has, no doubt, been the only ministry which the vast majority have received in their fatal illnesses. To be sure, the old system with its charms and incantations, its profitless and often cruel remedies, is gradually passing away, yet the native *hakim* is the only recourse in the case of vast multitudes. It is estimated by Sir William Moore that 'not five per cent of the population is reached by the present system of medical aid.' Even in the great cities, where there are hospitals and dispensaries, more than half the people die unattended in sickness either by educated doctor or native quack. 'If this is the case in the cities,' writes Dr Wankless, 'what must be the condition in the 566,000 villages, each with a population of less than 500, without even a native doctor?' The difficulties attending medical practice in India arising from the severity of the conventional rules of society add no doubt, to the volume of neglect to which we have referred. In an instructive discussion in the pages of *The Indian Magazine and Review* for the latter part of the year 1895 and the earlier numbers of 1896, concerning 'Medical Aid to Indian Women,' are to be found

repeated references to the lamentable woes of Indian women in times of illness and suffering even though as in many instances medical aid might be available. It is a question whether the so called *hakim* or *zaidyas* with their foolish and worthless remedies are any relief or whether to be unattended is not a milder fate than to be ministered to by those who will gravely prescribe the powdered horn of the sacred bull as a remedy of special efficacy or who repeat verses out of their sacred books for the relief of a person who has been bitten by a poisonous insect.

2 *The Force* — According to the April 1903 issue of *Medical Missions in India* there were at that date 258 missionaries who were medical graduates or licentiates of whom 109 are men and 149 are women—a marked increase over a list published by the same periodical in 1895 when there were only 140 qualified medical missionaries of whom seventy eight were men and sixty two were women. To aid these workers there were in 1900 125 hospitals and 212 dispensaries containing 2371 beds. The total agency connected with these missions was 666 Christians and ninety three non Christians.²

3 *Aims* — Various considerations lead to the medical missionary work in India. Its object of course writes Dr Sommerville of Jodhpur is primarily to evangelize and the main argument for its use is that it can evangelize under specially favorable circumstances under conditions which lay the heart bare and bring spiritual concerns into near contact and sharper focus than is the case in the ordinary circumstances of daily life. It comes armed with the sympathy of humanity at its best and excites at least for the time being a responsive gratitude which with accompanying impressibility may be turned to account for spiritual ends.³ Yet it also has a broader basis as a reso-

¹ Denn: *Christian Missions and Social Progress* vol. pp. 191, 192

² *Protestant Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon Statistical Tables* 1900 pp. 62, 63

³ *Medical Missions in India* January 1902 p. 100

which the evangelical churches of America have conferred upon the people of British India is that of healing their sick women and thus powerfully showing the practically imprisoned inmates of the zenana and harem and the multitudes of widows so many of whom have never been wives that to them the Kingdom of God has come. Till recently Great Britain could not thus do what the liberal educational system of the United States had long enabled women medical missionaries to begin. It should be remembered that the first woman medical missionary ever commissioned was Clara Swain M. D. who was sent to India by the Woman's Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1869. In a volume written by Mrs. S. Armstrong Hopkins M. D. *Within the Purdah* one gets an inside view of the wealthiest titled families of India and sees what a Christian physician can accomplish for their immured inmates. Such pictures are at the opposite pole of missionary experience from those found in Miss Carmichael's account of low caste work found in *Things as They Are*.

5 *One Case* — A case reported by Dr. Clark laboring in Amritsar the sacred city of the Sikhs gives one an idea of the work. A hot summer's day! Earth and sky are ablaze with heat the sun shines down with pitiless glare every living thing seeks shelter from the intense heat — even the very crows are going about with wide open bill gasping for breath and the painfully energetic fly has not determination enough to buzz about. A weary trying day for the strong and healthy one of misery for the sick. Here they are a motley crew waiting for the ring of the bell which ushers them one by one into the consulting room of the Amritsar Medical Mission Hospital where with the thermometer at 101° we are doing our best to minister to body and soul. Almost all the ills to which flesh is heir seem in evidence to day. One after another

comes in and goes out, yet the crowd outside seems to be as large as ever. What a world of misery of soul and body have we here! Look at this old dame, with hair like driven snow, tall and erect as if she had but lived some score of years instead of near to the four score years of man's allotted span. 'Son, I will give all I have, bear all pain, do anything, if thou wilt give me my sight but for one single moment,' and then she tells us she lost her sight some years ago. 'Grandmother, your days on earth can not be many—the shadows are lengthening into night, why undertake all this pain and weariness for a fleeting good?' say we. 'Son,' she replies, 'since I became blind a little grandson has been born to me. He is the only one I have, and I have never seen his face. We are Hindus, and, as you know, we believe in transmigration. I must die, and then I shall become a cat, or a dog, or a frog,—we must be reborn eighty four million times,¹—and the lad will become a cow, or a hen, or crow. After this life he is mine and I am his no more. If I don't see him now, I shall never see him again, for through all eternity our lives will never again touch and, oh, I do want to see the laddie's face before I die!' The heart breaking pathos of that voice and the 'never through all eternity' ring in my ears as I write, and the picture of that venerable face with the upturned, sightless eyes and the longing pleading look on it will not easily be forgotten. She heard of the Christian's hope, 'Let not your heart be troubled—in my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you—I will come again.' And as she heard, the poor old eyes were brimful—'Ah, in such words you Christians have heaven now but for us there is no hope.' Type, alas poor woman, of the millions in India without God and without hope. In passing, I may add, she made a splendid recovery from the operation I performed, the result was

¹ The number of transigrations as commonly given is eighty four lakhs 8 400 000. See e. g., Monier Williams *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 273.

excellent, and I trust she saw the little grandson many a day"¹ The value of such work is evident from another quotation from the same writer "Medically, as regards out patients, we are the largest medical mission in the world, though as regards in patients we are far behind a number of others During 1891, when Dr Charles Martin was in charge for ten months and Dr Arthur Lankester for two, no less than 59 762 visits were recorded, and somewhere about 2,500 operations were performed and about 250 in patients were treated That work grand as it is, would be at the best a splendid failure from the missionary point of view, were it not that these people have been brought under Christian influences and had the Gospel preached to them, for it is our aim to let no one who comes to us for healing go away without hearing of the Savior"²

V CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

I *Its Importance* — The importance of Christian literature in Indian missions is suggested in a paper read by Rev Dr Jones at a meeting of the International Missionary Union in 1902 of which this is the substance 'Of the Tamil native Protestant Christians 260 000 were requiring more literature than could be furnished, to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands of non Christians who could read and were without literature fit to circulate Fifty thousand of these Tamil Christians could read There were in India forty one Christian presses and publishing houses, issuing 200 000 pages annually There were in circulation seventy six translations of the Scriptures The eighteen tract societies had published 40 000 000 copies of their publications There are 147 magazines and other periodicals published in India for native Christians

¹ *Church Missionary Gleaner* December 1892 p 190

² *Ibid.* July 1892 p 105

with an average circulation of a thousand each. There are in India 15,000,000 readers among native peoples, not less than a million youths are sent forth annually from its institutions with an ability to read some in English, but mostly in vernaculars, and with eagerness to peruse anything that may be sent forth from Christian presses. The books accessible from native presses are morally unwholesome.

If we despise this day of great opportunity in this increasingly important department of work, it will not only handicap us seriously in other departments, it will also delay considerably the coming of the great day to which we all look with so much eagerness."

2 *Approved Principles* — The settled principles underlying this work are clearly set forth in the Madras Conference report, and four of them are subjoined. "(2) To meet the great and growing need for Christian literature, men should be set apart to organize the preparation of suitable books, tracts, and leaflets, and to increase their circulation. In every large language area, one or more persons should be set apart for this purpose, and in the smaller language areas a missionary with literary aptitude should be relieved of other cares as much as possible, that he may give the larger part of his time to literary work in that vernacular. This will require men of special gifts and wide culture who should not only be able to write effectively themselves but also to stimulate and guide others in this direction.

(4) The literature published should be especially prepared for the people of the land. Much discussion has taken place regarding the use of translations, and it is generally agreed that except the Bible very few English or other books will repay the labor of close translation into an Eastern tongue. The translator must be free to add, alter, adapt, and reject as he proceeds. The preparation of an original work should be ordinarily in the vernacular itself, but in some cases, in which the

book is likely to be useful in more than one language, English may be used by those who are familiar with the religious and secular thought of the people and then translations made into different vernaculars. The writers must be prepared to recognize everything helpful and true in the religion, literature, customs, and practices of the people, and in all their preparation they must have ever in view the persons among whom the publication is to circulate. (5) The literature must be idiomatic in style, abounding in illustration and imagery, and thoroughly intelligible to the people. (6) The publications should be clearly printed, and where possible suitable pictorial illustrations should be inserted. It need not be said that the picture should illustrate the letter press, and not the letter press the picture.

3 *Colportage* — Having secured a sufficient supply of suitable literature, it must be widely circulated to become an effective missionary agency. The Madras Conference made the following recommendations in this connection: "(1) A stock of books and tracts should be kept in every station and where possible a book shop opened. (2) The missionary should see that each evangelist takes with him a supply of suitable literature for sale or free distribution. (3) After every preaching service books should be offered for sale. (4) A person should be appointed to sell in every local market, for then the people have money and are more likely to buy. In some places it will be possible to visit the railway station for a similar purpose. (5) While traveling by train many a leaflet or tract will be gratefully accepted and read by travelers. Much literature can also be disposed of to workmen during the hour allowed for food. (6) School teachers, zenana visitors, Bible women, and workers in hospitals should be encouraged to sell publications. (7) Colporters should be appointed where a proper number of books can be sold."

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference 190.* pp. 168-169

² *Ibid.* pp. 177, 1-8

VI WORK FOR THE NATIVE CHURCH

1 *Composition* — It should be remembered that the vast majority of the native church members are of low castes. This does not mean that the better classes are unrepresented. The work of S. Modak of Ahmednagar proves the remarkable strength of the Church in this particular.¹ Yet "it is from the Karens, the Telugus, the Santals, the Chamars, the Kols, the Khasis, the Shanars, the Chuharas, and other tribes of like standing, that the present Indian Church has received the great body of its membership, and the Salvation Army seems to get a large part of its soldiers from the Dheds of Gujarat, the Mahars of Poona, and the Pariahs of Cape Comorin. No remarkable work has ever yet been reported among the Brahmans, the Rajputs, the Kshattriyas or even the Mohammedans."² In this respect the Indian Church resembles at the present stage the one at Corinth³ and all infant churches in semi-civilized lands, except Japan.

2 *Character* — An Indian clergyman has recently called attention to the strong and weak characteristics of his fellow church members. In his opinion they have gained through their acceptance of Christianity the freedom which Christ always brings, especially to a land that has been so bound to the past as India, the strong individuality which is apt to come to the man who faces popular ridicule, an individuality marked by superior moral courage, self reliance, due to the necessity for caring for himself after being thrust out by his caste and family, the advantage which is just beginning to come from intermarriage among those of differing castes, the freedom to enter new and better employments and even to emigrate to

¹ See Modak *Directory of Protestant Indian Christians* vol. 1

² Stewart *Life and Work in India* p. 245

³ 1 Cor. 12: 13

Western lands, consequent upon being left without ancestral property or attachment to a particular village, the inclination to enter more fully into the inner life of the Occident, as the native comes into intimate contact with foreigners, and the superior training and environment that are the lot of most Christians. Mr Joshi has to deplore a number of undesirable characteristics which he thinks have come with the new faith, the contact between different castes and races, brought about by Christianity, is thus far mainly a mechanical one, hereditary taints are difficult to eradicate, especially in South India, the charge of selfishness is partly justified and is due to the motto of many Christians, Everybody for himself and God for all, missionary tutelage has been a source of weakness as well as a blessing, so that manliness straightforwardness, and originality have been lost jealousy is very apt to pursue those Christians whose character or abilities have raised them above their fellows the general good of the Christian community is subordinated to personal differences, and mutual trust, so essential to a strong Christian solidarity, is lacking in very many¹ The Madras Conference summed up the great defects of Indian church life in these words "It is our deep conviction that the greatest need in our missions to day is *Christian Life* not more elaborate methods or better organization or new appliances, but more *life*, the new life from God inbreathed by the Holy Spirit, 'working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight' True Christian life is absolutely essential to true Christian living It is evident that they only who really possess the life of Christ will do from the heart the works and will of Christ, that they only who have the Holy Spirit dwelling within them can bring forth the fruit of the Spirit'²

¹ Rev D L. Joshi in *Church Missionary Intelligencer* April 1903 pp 269 274

² *Report of the Madras Conference 1902* p 25

on the parable of the rich man. A worldly man is never satisfied with what he possesses. Let me have more houses more lands more buffaloes more slaves more clothes more wives more children and grandchildren more gold and silver more paddy and rice more boats and vessels let me be a rich man. He thinks of nothing so much as of amassing worldly goods. Of God and religion he is quite unmindful but watch that man. On a sudden his breath departs and he finds himself deprived of all he possessed and valued so much. He looks around and sees none of his former possessions. Astonished he exclaims 'Where are my slaves? Where are my buffaloes? I can not find one of them. Where are my houses and my chests of money? What has become of all my rice and paddy that I laid up in store? Where are all the fine clothes that cost me so much? I can find none of them. Who has taken them? And where are my wives and my children? Ah! they are all missing. I can find none of them. I am lonely and poor indeed. I have nothing. But what is this?' The preacher here entered upon a description of the sufferings of the soul that is lost after which he represented the rich man as taking up this lamentation. Oh what a fool I have been! I neglected God the only Savior and sought only worldly goods while on earth and now I am undone! While the old man was preaching in this manner every eye was fixed on him and every ear was attentive. Soon after he pursued the following strain. All in this world is misery. Sickness and pain fear and anxiety wars and slaughter old age and death abound on every hand. But hearken. God speaks from on high. Children why take you delight and seek happiness in that low village of mortality that thicket of briers and thorns? Look up to Me. I will deliver you and give you rest where you shall be forever blessed and happy.

4 *Sunday schools* — Next to preaching and superior

to it in some respects—since an Indian Sunday school contains the large majority of the church adults as well as children—is the work of teaching the community the truths of Christianity in the Sabbath school. The first one of these in India and perhaps in all Asia was established at Serampore in 1803. Not until the formation of the India Sunday school Union in 1876 however was the organized work of the present day brought into being. Its program indicates the features which are being emphasized in this work at the present time. The objects of the Union are (1) To emphasize the spiritual character of Sunday school teaching (2) to consolidate and extend Sunday school work (3) to educate teachers in the best principles and method of Bible study and teaching (4) to produce and foster the growth of English and vernacular literature suitable for teachers and scholars (5) to encourage special services among young people (6) and to unite for mutual help all Sunday schools conducted by Protestant missions in Southern Asia. Such ideals are influencing some 300 000 members in Sunday schools.

5 *Interdenominational Societies*—Interdenominational organizations aid the churches more than in Western lands. Thus the Christian Endeavor organization with an experienced secretary at its head is a most valuable adjunct in various denominations in that it trains the younger members of the Church to independent and united activities. The denominational societies of the same sort as the Epworth League serve a similar purpose except that they underscore the differences between the churches instead of bringing their younger members together. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations are likewise the servants of the churches though their special field includes to a considerable extent the better educated youth of the Empire. No work perhaps is more strategic and widely useful to the influential classes of the future Church in India.

6 *Native Leaders* — The churches that are built up through these and other agencies will be strong and aggressive largely in proportion as they are under the guidance of energetic, resourceful, and consecrated leaders. To the task of raising up such men and women the missions are giving much attention. The qualities desired in such church leaders, as well as the line of training to be adopted, are succinctly set forth in Dr. Scott's paper at the Madras Conference. He would have these agents taught in such a way as to secure (1) Moral and spiritual development, (2) the fundamentals of theology resting on the Bible, (3) method in thought and study, thus bringing the student's mind into working order, (4) practical workers as evangelists and pastors, (5) as much related collateral information as can conveniently be imparted, (6) manliness, physical and mental good manners and courtesy. The aim should be to raise up workers adapted to India, and not for England or America. This means much practical work in connection with the scholastic course, — such work as a previous paragraph showed Mr. Eddy doing. As the following chapter will state, some of the chief problems in connection with the native Church have to do with its development in independence and as a self-propagating force. Hence a careful study of these problems and a determination to cope with their difficulties will be a prominent part of the course of training. It may be added that not only are men and women trained who give their whole time to the church work, but it is a common thing for the wives of men thus preparing to receive special training also.

7 *Church Evolution — the Field* — A man so trained may go into a village like this one in North India. "Remember that the village streets are narrow and filthy, often only three or four feet wide, that the houses are all built of mud and consist each of only a room or two, facing a small court which is surrounded by a mud wall,

that part of the country on a tour of duty. For the Christian laborer himself also a permanent home is sometimes provided. Thus the work advances step by step.¹ It may be a long time before such a village church has a separate existence and longer still before a native pastor is placed over it. Even then years may elapse before it exercises the initiative and aggressiveness which are so much needed in India.

¹ Stewart *Life and Work in India* pp. 263-264.

VII

PROBLEMS AND OPPONENTS

THE work in which India's missionaries are engaged gives rise to greater problems than that in any other great mission field. Moreover with the exception of lands ruled by Mohammedans there is no other important country in which the opponents of Christianity are so awake to the necessity of meeting the new faith with counter movements and active opposition.

I MODERN OBJECTIONS TO INDIAN MISSIONS

1 *Why Indian Missions?*—The initial question which the missionaries because of opponents of missions at home are forced to consider is that of the justification for missions in an Empire so providentially ruled and developed by a Christian power and if the enterprise is justified as all save thoughtless critics of missions in general would grant the question of the character of the work attempted remains to be answered.

2 *A Modern Objection*—Rev. Dr. Jores begins a chapter on India's missionary problems with a growingly common objection to missions and the Christian answer.

Why do you not say the advocates of a rigid doctrine of evolution leave those non-Christian peoples to work out their own salvation through a natural evolution of their own faiths? Let those old crude religions pass in or something higher through the natural process of evolution rather than resort to the cataclysmic method of

overthrowing the old and introducing a faith that is entirely foreign. Why not let the process of growth work out its own results even though it takes a long time for it?

Reply — Instead of replying from the standpoint of India's religious history which would show tendencies to degradation instead of improvement during the past three thousand years the following answer is made

This objection to our work is modern and thorough going. Of course it is equally pronounced against supernaturalism in all its forms and ramifications. It will be futile to reply to this by appealing to the command of our Lord to go and disciple all nations. It is enough to remind this objector that the doctrine of evolution admits that the highest Christian altruism is a part of the evolution process. And if that is so then the highest Christian altruism must find its noblest exercise in the work of bringing by Christians to non Christians those ideas and that life which they deem the best and of which those outside of Christ stand in urgent need. The highest evolution of our race has been and ever must be through that Christian altruism which will not rest until the noblest truth and the fullest life are brought to all the benighted souls of our race. Is not this the last message of evolution to us at this present? And is it not identical with the last commission of our Lord to His followers—to go and disciple the nations? And while it is the function of Christianity to maintain the evolution principle of the survival of the fittest it does this by indirection—by seizing upon the most unfit and unworthy and making them fit to stand before God and worthy to enjoy the life eternal in all its glory.¹

3 *Methods* — But what are the methods which will best secure the result demanded by evolution and by our high commission? It is a divisive question among the

¹ Jones *India's Problem* pp 264 65

missionary ranks in India, but whatever may be ideally desirable, "the trend of the times is doubtless in favor of the broader, humanitarian, philanthropic, civilizing purpose of missions, as against the deeper and more exclusive, spiritual, and Christianizing end"¹ Happily there is in the missionary body a strong contingent who are so convinced of the paramount necessity of something more radical to effect India's regeneration, that they emphasize constantly the spiritual aims of the missionary enterprise Their strength and the efforts made through conferences for deepening the spiritual life are resulting in the greater spiritualizing of secular aims, which perhaps is the best answer to the problem of methods

II CASTE PROBLEMS

1 *Madras Resolution* — A whole group of questions clusters about caste, both as it affects the Christian's relations to the non Christian community, and as it occasions difficulty among fellow Christians Yet the only resolution concerning it at the late Conference at Madras was as follows "The Conference would very earnestly emphasize the deliverance of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, namely that caste, wherever it exists in the Church, be treated as a great evil to be discouraged and repressed It is further of opinion that in no case should any person, who breaks the law of Christ by observing caste, hold any office in connection with the Church, and it earnestly appeals to all Indian Christians to use all lawful means to eradicate so unchristian a system"²

2 *Caste Problems* — Difficulties arising from the system occasion the Church most concern in Southern India Yet it was here in the early centuries that the

¹ Jones *India's Problem* p 283

² *Report of the Madras Conference 1902* pp 26 27

Syrian Church took strong grounds against it, so that to-day caste names, the most cherished remnant of the system, have entirely disappeared in that communion. Unfortunately neither Rome nor the early Protestant missionaries followed their noble example, and recent workers are suffering from their laxness. From the evangelistic point of view the evils of caste are chiefly two. "First, it threatens every person inclined to become a Christian with losses and sufferings of the most grievous character, and, secondly, it segregates the new convert and puts him in a position where he can have little or no influence over his former friends. Even the first of these evils is calculated to hinder our work very much, because it not only deters many from the initial step of making honest inquiry into the truth of the Christian religion, but also prevents people from confessing Christ, unless they have an extraordinary amount of moral and physical courage. But the second evil is still greater, because it cuts off so effectually what might be called the natural growth of the good work of winning souls. Not only is the ordeal of social, civil, and religious ostracism, with which the profession of Christ is connected, a severe trial to the individual convert himself, but — what is more to be regretted — it prevents him from securing the salvation of his kindred."¹ It by no means always follows that converts are thrust out by their families, yet it is a very common occurrence.

3 *How Met?* — These two and other problems connected with caste, notably the practical refusal of the majority of church members to intermarry with Christians outside the caste, can be legislated against, as recommended by the Madras Conference, but perhaps the constant reiteration by missionaries of the prayer of Jesus that all His people might be one, with comments upon it, and the multiplication of object lessons of extra

¹ Stewart *Life and Work in India* p. 224

in a distant village. If he defers baptism until the probationary period has passed he may not be able to reach the missionary again or the opposition of his family may prevent its being administered. In any case he loses the stimulus which a pronounced and irrevocable stand for Christ gives since the administration of this sacred rite is the Rubicon which when crossed commits him to the new religion and cuts off hope of easy return. Some missionaries do not hesitate to baptize all those who seem truly desirous of serving God and are conscious of their sinfulness and of saving grace in the hope that divine power will keep them true to their faith and inwardly instruct them in the things of God. Others regard such a position as destructive of church order and likely to result in a corrupt Christian community.

3 *Private Baptism* — In the case of some converts if baptism is to be administered at all it seems almost necessary to hold the service in secret. Such cases are usually those of women especially in the better homes whose inmates can not well attend church and others in the higher walks of life. In the case of women to be baptized may and probably will lead to their being cast out thus at once depriving them of the possibility of influencing other members of the household and making it necessary for the church to make some provision for such cast-aways. But if it should be granted that secret baptism is permissible who is to perform the rite? Into such homes a male missionary could not well go and what other means of meeting the requirements of the case is there except to authorize lady missionaries to perform the ceremony? Other difficulties confront the men who ask for secret baptism the greatest being those which beset young students who desire to enter the Christian life through this rite. In cases not a few such persons have been lost to sight after their baptism became known or else have been poisoned and sometimes — what is worse

caste marriage and of true Christian fellowship among different castes will best accomplish the desired result. Christian schools are also powerful agencies in weakening the system, as is the work of medical missions.

III PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH NEW CONVERTS

1 *Polygamy* — One difficulty in the way of receiving a professed convert, though affecting only a small percentage of candidates is a most perplexing one, it is that of applicants who have more than one wife. As Hindu or Mohammedan they have entered in good faith into marriage contracts with these wives, and if a man puts away all but one, what provision shall be made for the rejected? and on what principle shall he decide as to the one to be retained? While it is a question easily answered in missionary society councils at home, it is a more serious problem at the front. Some good missionaries hold that where the husband is living the Christian life in all sincerity, it is better to receive into the Church such a candidate, — though not eligible to any church office, — than to require him to give up all but one wife and thus brand with illegitimacy his children by them, as well as occasion the wives so put away endless reproach and embarrassments.

2 *Probation* — Nor is it a simple question to decide how long a probation candidates for baptism, who do not suffer from such entanglements as polygamy, should undergo before being received. If there is reason in Christian lands for requiring a period of probation before receiving persons to the church how much greater reason is there in case of those who are almost inconceivably ignorant of Christian truth and who are steeped in heathen ideas and surrounded by a hopeless environment? Yet it often happens that a man hears the Gospel at a festival far from home, or else when temporarily residing

in a distant village. If he defers baptism until the probationary period has passed he may not be able to reach the missionary again, or the opposition of his family may prevent its being administered. In any case he loses the stimulus which a pronounced and irrevocable stand for Christ gives, since the administration of this sacred rite is the Rubicon which, when crossed, commits him to the new religion and cuts off hope of easy return. Some missionaries do not hesitate to baptize all those who seem truly desirous of serving God and are conscious of their sinfulness and of saving grace in the hope that divine power will keep them true to their faith and inwardly instruct them in the things of God. Others regard such a position as destructive of church order and likely to result in a corrupt Christian community.

3 *Private Baptism* — In the case of some converts if baptism is to be administered at all it seems almost necessary to hold the service in secret. Such cases are usually those of women, especially in the better homes whose inmates can not well attend church and others in the higher walks of life. In the case of women to be baptized may and probably will lead to their being cast out, thus at once depriving them of the possibility of influencing other members of the household and making it necessary for the church to make some provision for such cast-aways. But if it should be granted that secret baptism is permissible who is to perform the rite? Into such homes a male missionary could not well go and what other means of meeting the requirements of the case is there except to authorize lady missionaries to perform the ceremony? Other difficulties confront the men who ask for secret baptism the greatest being those which beset young students who desire to enter the Christian life through this rite. In cases not a few such persons have been lost to sight after their baptism became known, or else have been poisoned, and sometimes — what is worse

than death—they are drugged and led into lives of shameless sensuality, or increasing imbecility. The question of public baptism seems most vital when facing such cases and many missionaries perform the rite in secret.

Madras Resolution — The prevailing opinion with regard to women converts however, is that voiced by the Madras Conference. 'We all agree that in no case should wives and mothers be urged to break family ties in order to publicly confess Christ by baptism but rather that they be encouraged even in the face of bitter persecution, to witness for Christ in their own homes in order that their husbands and children may be by their consistent lives won for Christ. At the same time there will often be those who after earnest thought and prayer will themselves be led to the conviction that the call has come to them from God to confess their faith by baptism. Dare we, who have ourselves experienced the blessing that has come into our lives from obedience to Christ's commands keep such back? We dare not take such

a responsibility but would encourage them rather to be true to the voice of conscience however great the cost.

We do not advise secret baptisms in zenanas. Widows and unmarried girls of legal age as well as married women who have been cast out on account of their faith can of course act for themselves but if baptized contrary to the wishes of their parents or guardians they will usually need protection and support.'



Bareilly Theological Seminary—Class of 1902



In Tinnevely, for instance, the Shanar caste was early influenced by Christian workers, and, as they are a very clannish community, many thousands of them have embraced the Christian faith and have been wonderfully transformed and elevated through contact with it. One of the most marvelous manifestations of the power of the Gospel is presented to day in that district by this people, who, under missionary influence and Christian training, have risen from great depths of ignorance and social degradation until they stand among the highest of that land in intelligence and in the spirit of progress. Most of the Christians of Tinnevely belong to this once despised class and are, in many respects, full of vigor and enterprise.

2 *Telugu Field* — "In the famous Telugu Baptist Mission we find a similar movement. That American Mission labored for twenty five years without much encouragement. After those years the outcasts of the community began to appreciate the advantages of our faith and to apply for admission into its congregations. It gathered them in by thousands, until it has become by far the largest mission in this country." Dr Jones must refer here to India as a whole, rather than to the Madras Presidency.

3 *North India* — "During the last few years a similar movement has overtaken the American Methodists and other missions in North India. Many thousands of the depressed classes within its area have sought a refuge from their ills and a Savior for their souls in the Christian fold. Bishop Thoburn says that more than 100,000 of this class are now waiting to be received into their community, but that their mission has not the men or means to instruct them."¹

4 *Resulting Problems* — Many problems arise in connection with these mass movements some of which were

¹ Jones, *India's Problem* pp 308, 309

discussed by the Bombay Conference of 1893 Rev Mr Uhl's paper named the following as most common and serious (1) The unworthy motives often lying behind wholesale conversions, so-called "These reasons are Famine and scarcity, lack of tanks and wells or deficient water supply, troubles arising from water-supply, need of house sites, desire for fields, cases in the civil or criminal courts, sickness, misfortunes, wish for schools, marriage alliances to be made, vetty lands to be protected, property to be preserved, hope of employment, better paying labor, a desire to have children supported in the mission boarding schools, quarrels with the lower classes or disputes with the upper classes and a large number of cases with some undefined expectation of better physical things" When there is such a hunger for the loaves and fishes, how is the missionary to be a discerner of spirits? (2) A mistaken view of what Christianity really is may thus be gained which will follow such converts to their grave (3) The great danger that caste and pagan usages will be perpetuated, since this difficulty, serious as it is when converts come in one by one will be increased with multitudes applying for admission to the church (4) Women so strategic an element in Indian society, are very likely to be overlooked, when so large a number of men are offering themselves, or if admitted, their instruction is liable to be neglected in favor of the men (5) The inevitable result of such movements is to treat converts in the bulk, instead of dealing with them one by one, which is so essential to a true conception of Christianity in India. (6) Ingratitude is likely to result The advantages sought are regarded as the proper reward of a change of religion, and hence they are not received with becoming gratitude, or, if refused the new convert becomes "a great sized monster of ingratitude," a constant source of sorrow to the missionary (7) Another evil results from the sudden transition from a position of degradation to one in which

Christianity exalts the individual "With new or imagined champions impudence to the villagers and to their superiors often possesses them, and they not only omit courtesy but push themselves forward to offensiveness and insult, with a whole train of results following in quarrels with villagers revenges destruction of property, and actions in criminal courts¹ To avoid such dangers as these — which have been unduly emphasized by Mr Uhl — the serious responsibility confronts the Church at home of providing a sufficient force to properly instruct, sift, and cultivate the multitudes who apply for Church membership Where this is done testimony like Mr Campbell's shows the value of mass movements I have found to my surprise that better moral and spiritual results are secured when people come over in the mass than when they come over as individuals There is much more stability in a Christian community which has arisen as a result of a mass movement than in one which has been formed by the ingathering of isolated individuals²

V ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

1 *Need of Employment* — Admitting only those applicants who are truly worthy does not end the missionary's difficulties Baptism throws many out of employment and home as well Hindus and Mohammedans prefer patronizing merchants shop keepers, and manufacturers of their own faith, and by dealing with others in some kinds of business they would actually violate the laws of their respective sects This leads to practical boycotting and compels the Christian community to depend mostly upon itself for patronage in its various departments of trade, as well as service Only as coolies,

¹ *Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference held at Bombay 1892-93* pp 55 '60

² *Missionary Review of the World* October 1901 p 7 6.

farm hands, weavers, and laborers of the lowest grades, or as dealers in such detested articles as hides, are its members allowed to work, or to do business with any degree of freedom. As far as the Christian population generally is concerned, more respectable avenues of profit are closed to their ambition."

2 *Peasant Settlements* — Industrial education will undoubtedly aid in the removal of these difficulties, as does the rapid increase of the Christian community, the growth of manufactures, and the introduction of new industries. Meanwhile, peasant settlements are strongly urged by the Madras Conference as an aid in overcoming the disabilities above named. The settlements have proven their ability to better the situation especially those of the Irish Presbyterians in Gujerat and Kathiawar, those conducted by the Church Missionary Society at Clarkabad and at Montgomerywala, and the United Free Church settlements in Chingleput District, Madras. Aside from the industrial value of these peasant settlements, they are endorsed from the Christian standpoint. "It is easily possible to deal with the people in the mass. Christian families are kept together in one common center under predominant Christian influences. They come under the direct care of the pastor, are subject to Christian discipline, come regularly to worship, enjoy Christian communion and mutual intercourse, and instruction under such circumstances can be made more thorough." Another argument in their favor is the fact that if Protestants make no such provision for their needy members, they will go over to the Catholics, who have already begun to use this

is a marked defect of the native character, it occasions friction or enmity between missionaries and their converts, since even Christians are true to the common maxim, "Never pay unless you are compelled," and hence they must be almost forcibly dealt with by those in charge, it has in many cases attracted worthless characters by the hope of worldly advantage, and it hinders the spread of the Gospel by segregating the leaven from the masses so greatly needing it. The "compound system" is similar to the settlement scheme and open to nearly the same objections.

3 *Credit Associations* — To aid struggling Christians toward independence the Madras Conference also urged the establishment of mission banks of a co operative character, holding that they would add greatly to the moral and social advancement of their people and at the same time furnish object-lessons useful to the Government in furthering its Cooperative Credit Association scheme. If established by a given mission such a bank would need to pass through the experimental stage, since the Raiffeisen and Schultze Deltsch Banks of Europe, which furnish the models, are conducted under widely different conditions. Moreover, for some time to come they would serve the purpose of a training school in finance to the native leaders, in whose hands they must largely be, rather than furnish a present solution of pressing financial need.

VI THE QUESTION OF A SELF-SUPPORTING CHURCH

1 *Difficulties* — Closely akin to the questions just named are similar ones affecting the local church. When the individual members can scarcely provide for their own family needs, how can they be expected to sustain the activities of their church? To urge the example of the Karens, who, under the leadership of Abbott and others of the American Baptist Missionary Union, set so mag-

nificant an example of financial independence and aggressive church life, is to suggest to objectors the absence of caste and other difficulties which so complicate matters in India proper. Moreover, the fertility of Burma, the favoring climate, and the leadership of unusual men are further answers in the view of some. The fact that more than one eighth of the organized congregations of India, including Burma, were reported as self supporting at the close of 1900¹ shows the possibility of self support, notwithstanding the difficulties.

2 *Methods* — The methods which are most commended are as follows. "In order to secure the hearty and liberal gifts of the people, not only must the Christian duty, privilege, and blessing of giving be laid continually before them but such methods of giving as accord with the genius of the people should be resorted to. In this connection, offerings on special festive occasions, offerings for special mercies received or dangers averted, — for example, in times of sickness, etc., — first fruits, collections of grain and the like, should be encouraged, in addition to periodical contributions, collections, etc. Harvest festivals, coinciding as they do with the customs of the country, have also proved themselves an important factor in inciting the people to spontaneous and cheerful giving, and are heartily recommended by the Conference."²

Harvest Festival — The harvest festival, so especially emphasized, deserves fuller mention, since it accomplishes far more than an increase in financial gifts. Rev E A Douglas, who calls the gathering the modern Feast of Tabernacles, thus describes one in his field. "A peep into that great temporary structure made of boughs of trees, hung with flags made by the school children, and decorated with fruits and grains gathered in by the sons of

the soil who have themselves been brought into Christ's garner church, brought vividly before one's mind the great truth of the oneness of the Church and the communion of saints. The European missionaries and the ten North Tinnevelly pastors, together with the singing boys and girls, sitting on either side, filled the platform. Ranging down the side of the tent were the inspecting schoolmasters, lay members of council, leading members of congregations, and the members of the Itinerating Band headed by the 'Leader of Song'. In the body of the tent sat the members of congregations and their catechists and schoolmasters,—on one side the men on the other the women. They had come up from all parts of North Tinnevelly, for the most part on foot some in bandies—coming not empty but with holy offerings. After the sermon was over the offerings were brought. First the money was gathered in by the pastors—some Rupees 160. Then the women's needle work was brought up on trays,—such a collection!—mufflers, caps, tablecloths, frocks, socks, a baby's hood, bead penholders, artificial flowers, a bundle of things from the Sachiapuram Girls' Boarding School, a cap made by the Brahman wife of the sub-registrar of Sivakasi, and many other things. These were afterwards sold by auction and realized about Rupees 25. Then amidst the vigorous singing of the Tamil rendering of 'Bringing in the Sheaves' 'Where are the Reapers,' and such like hymns, the grain offerings were brought up by the people themselves and the sacks piled in front of the platform. Many fowls, too, were brought, which after a good deal of cackling and clucking were set to lie helplessly, with their legs tied, on the platform. Limes, tobacco leaves, a concertina, a good brass lamp, a stone garden seat, were amongst the offerings brought, all these were arranged on the platform and together with the sacks of grain in front gave it the appearance of a well stocked bazaar. The collection of things was

amusing but the people all rejoiced for a better reason—they all gave willingly and although last year had been a time of great scarcity owing to the failure of the monsoon yet the number of offerings was not decreased and the amount realized—some Rupees 250—was greater than last year.¹ The deepest source of joy at this harvest festival was the baptism of many converts by their several pastors which made the occasion a double harvest home.

A Native Suggestion—A prominent native Christian makes this suggestion as a possible solution of the problem of self support in village churches. Take the case of an ordinary village church with perhaps fifty members men and women. In such a village there would probably be a teacher and a preacher. The church would be expected under the present condition of things to pay a part of the salary of an itinerant pastor who has charge of two or more churches. The teacher and the preacher would be paid by the mission. Suppose a field covering five acres of land watered by the supply from a well was purchased in the same way as a school house or a preacher's quarters are built. Suppose each member of the church was to take into the field a certain number of baskets of manure from his yard and to give a fixed number of days labor to the cultivation of the field. Those who have bullocks and plows would plow part of the field or draw water from the well. If the village was at some distance from a large town sugar cane might be grown and jaughery sold in the town. If the village was near a large town vegetables and fruits of different kinds could be grown and sold. A field of the size mentioned above if properly cultivated has been found on experiment to yield an income of from Rupees 600 to Rupees 700 a year. This sum can pay the salaries of all the agents in the place. The work in the field should be arranged for

¹ *Church Missions & Gleaser* October 1903 p. 150

and regulated by a small committee of the church. All the work, or as much as is possible, should be voluntary and unpaid. It would interest the Christians in the place in aggressive work, and in a short time enable them to do for other villages what the mission has done for them. This experiment is being tried in some places in the country. In two places fields have been hired, because the churches had no money to buy them. In another place a church is considering the idea of planting a mango grove. Such a project may not be paying for some years, but is likely afterwards to yield handsomely without much labor."¹

VII SECURING SELF GOVERNMENT

1 *Desirability and Possibility* — A strenuous effort toward self support is not likely to be made unless a church is assured of self government, to the extent, at least, that the usages of the denomination permit. It is generally conceded in India that a reasonable share in the government of the church should be granted its members, in order to train them in the art of self government and to awaken in them an intelligent interest in the church's affairs. "It is a significant fact in India to day, that the Methodist missions, by their compact organization, are able to, or at any rate do, confer more ecclesiastical and administrative power upon the native Church than any other mission, while Congregational missions, the least organized are the most backward in this matter."²

2 *Pastor's Salary* — One aid toward uniting the pastor of a native church more closely to his people and thus of increasing their sense of independence, is that suggested by the Madras Conference. If he is paid by the mission-

¹ Modak *Directory of Protestant Indian Christians* vol. II, Appendix, p. VIII

² Jones *India's Problem* p. 260

aries, he is regarded as one of the foreign force instead of being an integral part of the local church, and thus the true pastor is lost in the perfunctory office of superintendent. It was accordingly urged that he be paid through some office bearer in the church other than a representative of the foreign society.

3 *Training to Govern* — Hitherto the foreign missionary has had much to do with the governing of the native church. There is a growing conviction that the desired object of promoting self government can be best attained through making the missionary a trainer of those who are to govern, instead of governing it directly. In view of national characteristics inclining the members toward being led by those in religious authority, and because of the grade of society from which the body of the church comes, it requires far more self-effacement for the missionaries to do this and makes greater demands upon their time and patience than some are likely to possess. The Conference urged that in the churches men of special ability be sought out and charged with financial and other official burdens and trained under the foreigner's eye. Failure hitherto on the part of native church officials was felt to be largely due to lack of training.

4 *Panchayets* — The idea which Bishop Caldwell did so much to make effective in his own mission, namely, the use of the native institution of the panchayet, or council of five householders, in the settlement of many matters of church discipline, has received the endorsement of the Madras Conference. If these native leaders were recognized as possessing the requisite authority, it would increase the sense of self government and enlarge the native responsibility in regard to right living. Some of the other ideas of the Society whom the Bishop represented such as the forming of converts into Christian Companies with a Christian headman over each, the head men meeting together to receive the missionary's counsel

and encouragement have not only proven helpful as training in self government in that Church but in the Methodist bodies of the Empire also

VIII SELF EXTENSION OF THE NATIVE CHURCH

1 *General Organizations* — Difficult as is the task of developing self government in the native church it is equally hard to create an aggressive self propagating spirit in its rank and file. The organization of the Volunteer Movement for Home Missions effected in 1896 has done a little to stimulate students in this direction but a number of home missionary societies established by various missions have done far more for the Church at large. Their object has been ideally if not actually a fivefold one (1) To quicken the interest of Christians in work outside their immediate neighborhood (2) to utilize or secure gifts of money and men not available to the foreign societies (3) to provide the ministers and lay men of these churches with fuller opportunities for the exercise of their administrative gifts (4) to bring home to the churches in a very definite manner their duty in this connection (5) and to develop initiative in the native church leaders thus securing new methods indigenous to the country and likely to aid the foreign force

2 *Missionary Bands* — The nearer field is to be evangelized through the formation of missionary bands described by the recent Conference in one of its resolutions and in successful operation in many missions. One such band was mentioned in the preceding chapter. These entirely voluntary efforts exerted in their own neighborhood increase interest in home evangelization and train the participants for permanent work of that sort in the employ of the Church. Moreover it stimulates others in good positions to devote part of their leisure especially during vacations to voluntary preaching

IX EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

1 *Government Attitude* — Though education is so unquestionably important a part of the missionary program it has its difficulties. There is a serious conflict ahead in the no distant future writes Dr Jones. And this is in part owing to the attitude of the government Educational Department and of the local governing bodies towards mission institutions. There is no concealing the fact that most of the English officials of the Educational Department in India deem mission schools the most serious rivals to and regard missionary educators as quasi enemies of their departmental schools. These men have recently assumed and are increasingly assuming an attitude of jealousy if not of hostility to mission institutions chiefly because of their strength and excellence as rival schools and partly because of the Bible training which is imparted to all the students of these schools — a training with which those officials have no sympathy and which they are wont to regard as an educational impertinence.

2 *Native Opposition* — Another fact of equal significance is the attitude of District Boards and Municipal Commissioners towards the schools of mission bodies. Nearly all the members of local boards are native gentlemen. They see the large influence of mission schools scattered as they are through their districts and towns and they regard them as Christian propaganda and as evangelizing agencies and it is but natural that under the impulse of their new nationalism and of their interest in a Neo-Hinduism they should be jealous of mission schools which are the rivals of their own indigenous and growing institutions. And as they have the power of the purse and make and withhold grants to different schools at their pleasure and as all the subordinate officers of the Edu-

educational Department are natives and are not in full sympathy with mission schools it can be easily seen how our schools are doomed to suffer through an ever increasing government aid toward their support ¹

3 *Another Estimate* — The view of the attitude of government officials native and foreign just quoted expresses the opinion of not a few missionaries. The personal equation of both the missionary and the official however calls for another view of the Government's attitude toward education. A missionary with wide experience thus writes. While there are English inspectors who dislike mission institutions I believe they are the exception. We have reason for profound gratitude that the English officials are as a rule so friendly to us. During my more than twenty years in India the English educational officers not only but gentlemen of the Revenue Department also rendered me most substantial help as they have other members of our Mission. In the matter of native officials I may say that personally I have received more help from native school inspectors than from Europeans. My successor writes me that never have the grants from Government been so liberal as during the last year and all of his schools are under native inspection ²

4 *Suitable Teachers* — Another sort of difficulty arises from the scarcity of suitable Christian teachers for mission schools. More than one third of the teachers in male schools are not Christians and in consequence the religious value of the education imparted is lessened. So great is the demand for those who are Christians that the salary given is greater than that of Hindu schoolmasters and this generates friction and financial questions. Happily it has resulted in an increasing patronage of normal and training schools but the tendencies of the government training schools are unfavorable for the Christian life

¹ Jones *In Asia* p. 28 79

² Quoted from private correspondence

pated The sections in the *Satyarth Prakash* which deal with the criticism of Islam and Christianity are evidently intended to be the literature of such extirpation, i. e., to be the means of rooting out all such foreign superstitions from the hearts of the sons of Aryavarta For extreme unfairness for inability to state the position of opponents without caricature, and for general crudeness, these sections can hardly be matched in the whole literature of religious controversy ¹ When it is remembered that the more than 400 students in their college at Lahore are imbued with his spirit and doctrines and that there are in this Samaj a large proportion of highly educated leaders, its formidable character may be seen

2 *The New Islam* — The educational ambitions of the New Islam have already been referred to This party known as Naturs or Rationalists, has gone so far in the direction of making Mohammedanism like the higher religions of the world, that they have aroused opposition A "Society for the Defence of Islam" has become quite prominent in Northwest India ² The methods of defence adopted by this great organization have been, in brief," writes Dr Wherry, "the establishment of Mohammedan vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools for the education of Muslim youth, the publication of a literature, — books, tracts, and newspapers — for the refutation of anti-Muslim publications, as well as for the commendation and propagation of the religion of Islam In addition to this a Muslim propaganda has been organized, especially to withstand and hinder the work of missions Even zenana teachers are supported, whose first duty is to break up if possible, the missionary zenana and girls' schools Pressure is brought to bear upon Muslim parents and families to exclude the Christian ladies and workers Moreover, preachers are supported and sent here and there to preach against the Christian religion, and to use every effort

¹ Report of the Madras Conference 1902 p 320

is like the Christian original, from which it gains its strongest features and beliefs. Moreover, the modernized Hinduism makes use of the same agencies which Christianity has found so effective. It employs preaching, the press, and education, both lower and higher, it is self-supporting and self-propagating, enlisting as it does native talent from the higher and well-to-do classes. Its use of the press is especially to be noted. Its writers in general are men of high literary ability and education. Thus "a Madras magazine, called *The Arya* a new champion of Hinduism was started in 1901, which has elected to give up the defensive and to attack Christianity on its own ground, the editor beginning by assailing the central fact of the New Testament, the resurrection of Christ. The skeptical arguments used are not original, nor are they borrowed as they were some time ago from Ingersoll and Bradlaugh, but are inspired by the higher criticism of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This is very suggestive and shows the range of reading of the educated and the uses made of it."¹

4 *Root difficulties* — The reason why these religious movements are so serious an obstacle in the way of the missionary enterprise is that they are indigenous for the most part and are espoused by the strong leaders of native life and thought. They thus start with a presumption in their favor, and to this they add enough of Christianity to partly satisfy the hungry soul, while at the same time they retain enough of the old leaven to make it easy for the Hindu or Mohammedan to accept them without fear of social ostracism or rupture of relations with family and caste. The imitation of Christian methods still further satisfies those who have been attracted to Christianity by its beneficent fruits and who feel a desire for such aids. Thus, in connection with the Church Missionary Society's College at Cottayam, "one of the Malayalam munshis man

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference 1902* p. 308

aged the Hindu hostel, which had about thirty members for the greater part of the year. In imitation of the Christians, they held a devotional service every Sunday evening under the leadership of a high caste Brahman boy. A portion of the *Bhagavad Gita* was read and discussed and various prayers recited. A Students' Young Men's Hindu Association too, was organized in rivalry of the Young Men's Christian Association.¹ While all these recent movements are occasions for hopefulness, they are likewise sources of deep solicitude, as well as of occasional defections to the new views of old faiths.

XI THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

1 *Obstacles* — The pledged neutrality of the Government toward all religions occasions further anxiety to the missionary body. In the main it is observed, but there is some reason for the remark that the only religion especially liable to suffer by this attitude is Christianity. The Government's position of neutrality, moreover, is "misunderstood by many natives and attributed more to a lack of faith in Christianity than to the principle of even-handed justice, while the gift in various ways of vastly more money, or its equivalent, for the support of native faiths than is given for the support of the Gospel, produces the same, if not a worse effect."²

Wicked Deeds and Officials — Then, too, the attitude of the Government toward the regulation of vice, especially in the government camps, its support of the opium traffic, and the ungodly character of some of its representatives, who are supposed to be Christians by the populace, bring reproach upon the Christian name.

c *The Other Side* — Yet this is but one aspect of the governmental attitude toward missions, which in general

¹ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1902-1903* p. 298

² *Stewart Life and Work in India* p. 38

XII THE MISSIONARIES THEMSELVES

1 *Relations to Occidentals* — Having considered the difficulties arising from sources mainly outside themselves the last look must be introspective. Superficial travelers whose knowledge of missions is gained from a flying tour through India and contact with Europeans in hotels in its great cities would hold that the most serious obstacles to missions lie in the missionaries and in their relations to Europeans and natives. Most of the supposed facts underlying this shallow judgment are gained from a slight knowledge of the missionaries. One of the latter writes 'A group of missionaries generally presents a motley and to an unfamiliar eye a somewhat amusing aspect. Clothing of different eras dating from the time when their respective wearers left home mingled with local fashions or individual whims combine to give them a nondescript appearance. This is one reason why old missionaries shrink from durbars levees dinners, and calls on the more fashionable English and why they are disposed to push out newcomers as their representatives when duty requires some attention to the demands of society.' The inexperience and freshness of such representatives as well as their crude views as to missions may easily mislead a Western traveler who happens to meet them on such occasions.

Spiritual Contact — Yet even on the missionary's own ground as a minister of the Gospel he is liable to be unjustly estimated. He often feels called upon to expostulate publicly or privately with open sinners among the Europeans and this frequently occasions animosity. His conscience compels him either entirely to abstain from preaching in English or if he consents to do so his duty to the Hindoos impels him to give only a corner of his time to

¹ Stewart *Life and Work in India* p. 57

the need of prayer on the part of the Aarons and Hurs who hold up the weary hands of warriors at the front

3 *Native and Foreign Forces* — Missionaries have been criticised for the relations existing between them and the native Church and especially its leaders. Much of this criticism is groundless. It is true, however, that the missionaries themselves deplore the inevitable chasm which separates them from their beloved people. A missionary statesman long ago wrote "Distinctions of race are irrepressible. They are comparatively weak in the early stages of a mission, because all the superiority is on the one side. But as the native race advances in intelligence, and as their power of arguing strengthens as they excel in writing sensational statements, as they become our rivals in the pulpit and on the platform, long cherished but dormant prejudices and even passions will occasionally burst forth.

Race distinctions will probably rise in intensity with the progress of the mission." To fuse and combine these refractory elements no agent is so powerful as genuine love united with a humble willingness to live close to the heart of the people, even if one cannot live in their garb and homes.

Native Helpers — The primal root of bitterness between missionaries and their native helpers is due to the relation of employer to employee. The societies pay no salary in the strict sense of the word to the missionaries, but rather grant allowances for necessary and effective subsistence. Yet even on this scale the amount received by the native pastor is far less than that paid to his superintending missionary. As the English Government salaries its agents on the basis of the work done and of equal qualifications irrespective of race requirements, the difference is a cause of criticism. Moreover, when working together in the field, their actual needs, as well as native ideas as to the

¹ Vern quoted by Clark *The Punjab and India Missions of the Church Missionary Society* p. 282

fitness of things, prevent missionaries and their assistants from living on the same basis much less together. Naturally the missionary will fare better. Attempts to live on the same scale have been abandoned, even by the Salvation Army. Perhaps no solution of this difficulty excels that of Xavier, who understood the Hindu mind when he wrote "Everywhere men like to be cured tenderly, but in no country more than in India. The Indian constitution is, when offended, as brittle as glass. It resists a sharp stroke, or breaks into shivers, by kind treatment it may be bent and drawn out as you will. By entreaties and mildness you may in this country accomplish anything, by threats and severity, nothing at all."

4 *The Inner Life* — No human factor in India's evangelization is so central as the missionary's spiritual life, and few are more apt to yield to the unfavorable environment and thus lose power. The cark of constant care, the frequent loneliness of the solitary worker, the lack of spiritual companionship even when one is in the midst of Christians, disappointment over converts, the life so busy as to leave little time for spiritual nurture — these and a thousand other causes militate against inward peace and outward efficiency. The workers, realizing their need, are more and more availing themselves of special seasons for unitedly seeking spiritual refreshment and power. The daily dependence must be, however, what the veteran Weitbrecht prescribed for a young missionary. "Let me affectionately advise you as an elder brother to adopt a resolution, with a view to advance your growth in grace and spirituality and scriptural knowledge, which I have found most useful. I spend at least half an hour, and, if possible, one hour, very early, and again before bedtime, in reading, meditation, and prayer. This has a remarkable effect in keeping one in that calm, proper, peaceful, cheerful frame of mind — and this precious jewel one always

¹ Murdock *Indian Missionary Manual*, p. 350 3rd ed.

is in danger of losing, especially in India — we so much require to fit us for the great work we have to do, and it imparts tact and feeling, helping us to act and speak as we should do at all hours ”¹

¹ Murdock *Indian Missionary Manual*, p. 16, 3rd ed.

VIII

RESULTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

MISSIONARIES to India are very happy in their work and are no less optimistic about its results. Being under Occidental rule, the Empire is more accurately known from a religious point of view than any other non Christian land, and hence one is better able to judge as to the value of missions there than in China, which in some respects surpasses India as a mission field. A survey of what has been accomplished ought to inspire all friends of Christianity the world around. The true significance of the progress made can only be realized when the unusual difficulties mentioned in previous chapters particularly in that immediately preceding, are borne in mind. If such manifest success is possible in India, what may we not hope for in more favored lands?

I A GLANCE AT STATISTICS

On subsequent pages will be found the latest available statistics furnished us from missionary society offices, here some facts from tables collected by missionaries in India will be used in order to compare the figures with preceding statistics gathered in the same way, and also in order to make use of data from the decennial censuses, which are gathered a year later by the Government. Among the striking figures reported at the Madras Conference of 1902 were the following ¹

¹ See *Report of the Madras Conference 1902* p. 222

I *Protestant Missionary Statistics, 1890-1900*

	DEC 1900	DEC 1890	PER CENT GAIN OR LOSS
<i>Male Agency</i>			
Foreign and Eurasian ordained agents	1,049	918	+ 14.3
Asian ordained agents	905†	943	- 4
Foreign and Eurasian catechists or preachers	111	122	- 9
Asian catechists or preachers	6,653	3,987	+ 69.4
Foreign and Eurasian teachers	41*	85	- 51.8
Asian teachers	9,050	5,679	+ 59.4
<i>Female Agency</i>			
Foreign and Eurasian agents	1,302	770	+ 69.1
Asian agents	5,965	3,420	+ 74.4
<i>Medical</i>			
Foreign and Eurasian agency	193*	97*	+ 99
Asian medical agency	157*	168*	- 6.5
Foreign and Eurasian trained nurses	44*	†	
Asian trained nurses	104*	†	
Medical work, evangelists, etc	168*	†	
Leper asylum agency	57	†	
<i>Education, male</i>			
Theological and training school students	1,810	1,743	+ 3.8
College and upper school students	52,597	55,063	- 4.5
Lower school pupils	162,645	132,312	+ 2.9
<i>Education, female</i>			
Upper and middle girls' school pupils	11,508	73,572	+ 23.2
Primary girls' school pupils	79,144		
<i>Boarding pupils</i>			
Males in boarding schools and hostels	14,975	†	
Females in boarding schools and hostels	13,514	7,604	+ 77.7
<i>Zenana work</i>			
Number of pupils	39,894*	3,659*	+ 22.2
<i>General Items</i>			
Total Christian agency	25,799	16,189	+ 59.3
Communicants	343,906	216,659	+ 58.7
Christian community, approximately	978,936	648,843	+ 50.9

* Burma not returned.

† Returns incomplete

‡ Neither India nor Burma returned

Remarks — An inspection of these figures will show a gain per cent in every item where comparison between 1890 and 1900 is possible, except in foreign and Eurasian catechists or preachers and in college and upper school students. In two other items concerning which the returns were incomplete there is also a slight loss. The last three items are especially interesting. Assuming that the statistics are equally trustworthy in the years compared, there has been an increase of more than one half in each item. One would think with a gain of 59.3 per cent in the Christian agency that there would be an even larger percentage of gain in the number of communicants which, however is not the case. It surely would be expected that when both the agency and the number of communicants had so largely increased the Christian community would grow even more rapidly but just in this item the greatest falling off is noticeable. Yet whatever the explanation of this is the gains of the decade are most encouraging particularly those having to do with education.

2 *Christianity and Other Religions* — Comparison of the census data for the different religions of India including Burma furnishes occasion for further gratitude to God.¹ For the decade 1890 to 1900 the figures are as follows:

Protestant native Christians about	50.87	per cent increase
Buddhists	3.88	
Non Protestant native Christians	71.44	
Sikhs	15.07	" "
Mohammedans	8.96	" "
Jews	6.01	" "
Parsis	4.76	" "
Hindus	7.8	decrease
Jains	5.8	" "
Animistic etc.	6.15	" "
Increase of total pop. 1891-1901	24.5	

¹ See *Report of the Census of India, 1901*, p. 2.

According to these census figures the increase of the Protestant native Christian community has surpassed that of all other faiths. As the Buddhist gains are in India's Burman territory, they do not affect the peninsula. In point of percentage, the Protestant community increased more than three times as much as did the Sikhs and more than five times as much as the Mohammedans, whereas, Hinduism whether its losses are due to famines, to the inroads of other religions, to emigration, or to all combined, has retrograded instead of gained ground during the ten years. Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the census however, is the fact that the native Protestant community has increased in a ratio nearly twenty one times as great as that of the entire population of India.

3 *Educational Comparisons* — As the Protestant community constitutes only 354 of one per cent of the total population it could hardly be expected to furnish any large proportion of the school going portion of the Empire. As a matter of fact, in 1900 those in missionary institutions constituted 7.69 per cent of all studying, — that is, Protestants supply more than twenty one times their quota of students and pupils.¹ From pages 62-63 of *Protestant Missions in India, Burma, and Ceylon, Statistical Tables 1900*, one reaches an almost identical result as to the relative proportion of honors won by the Protestant students in institutions looking toward university matriculation and degrees, where they work side by side with non-Christian students. During the years 1891-1900 of those who matriculated or who passed First Arts', Bachelor's, or Master's examinations the Protestants numbered 1,085, while their relation to the entire population would require us to look for forty four only. It is interesting to note from the data of the pamphlet just referred to, that what is now the

¹ Compare statistics in *Statesman's Year Book 1903* pp 142-143 with those in *Protestant Missions in India Burma and Ceylon Statistical Tables 1900* pp 62-63.

Remarks — The foregoing table indicates what progress has been made in a trifle over a generation. The fuller one in Appendix B is even more encouraging since it shows how the last decade has surpassed preceding ones in most points of advance. Momentum is evident as the years pass. Thus considering the past thirty years only and the single item of the growth in the number of communicants we have the following results. During the years 1871-1881 they increased from 73,330 to 138,254 a gain of 88.54 per cent. from 1881 to 1890 — nine years — they passed from 138,254 to 215,759 a gain of 56.06 per cent. and during the years 1890-1900 the communicants increased 59.46 per cent. passing from 215,759 to 343,906. If we omit the unusually high percentage of 1871-1881 and take as a safer figure the average percentage of increase of the two periods 1881-1890 and 1890-1900 — which is one year short of two decades — namely, 57.76 per cent. this figure applied to the membership of 1900 and continued until 1930 would give us then 1,350,299 communicants. There is every reason to believe however, that such a computation is altogether too conservative and hence larger results may be expected in 1930.

5 *Latest Statistics Summarized* — The previous calculations have been based on data gathered in India itself which are not quite as late as material furnished by the various societies and found in full in Appendix C. The following items in that table deserve notice.

Foreign missionaries both sexes
 Native workers both sexes
 Native communicants
 Native community incl. communicants and adherents
 Lower schools for both sexes
 Pupils in same
 Higher institutions for both sexes
 Students in same
 Foreign physicians both sexes
 Patients annually treated

It should be noted that the increase in communicants has been 1632 per cent for the two years since the societies sent data for the second volume of the *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*¹

6 *Christians as Distributed Locally* — Appendix C shows approximately the distribution of the Protestant community in India. While the returns are not careful in stating provincial locations in every case the table below will give the approximate location of the foreign and native force and of the native communicants

	FOREIGN MISSION ARIES	NATIVE FORCE	COMMUNI- CANTS
Ajmere Merwara	35	334	2 457
Assam	94	263	13 8 8
Baluchistan	13	7	53
Baroda	6	58	901
Bengal	735	3 234	83 228
Berar	47	59	618
Bombay	509	1 918	22 046
Burma	41	19	46 877
Central India	57	11	448
Central Provinces	242	778	7 339
Hyderabad	69	601	6 513
Kashmir	34	5	10
Madras	1 0 0	8 959	169 634
Mysore	65	597	1 993
Northwest Frontier Province	28	17	10
Punjab	407	848	10 193
Rajputana	25	245	3 32
Sikkim	1	22	101
United Provinces	406	3,467	68 138

The reader may compare these figures with those on the sketch map found opposite page 110 though he should remember that census data are more general than figures furnished by missionary societies

¹ See Sections VII VIII pp. 4 5 of that volume

II EXTRA STATISTICAL RESULTS OF INDIAN MISSIONS

1 *Mission Plants* — One of the most surprising features of the Exhibit held in connection with the Ecumenical Conference at New York in 1900 was the ocular demonstration through photographs, charts, handiwork, etc. of what Indian missions possess in the way of an effective plant for the work doing. No data are available to make possible an accurate statement of its value but an eminent Indian authority writes "The thousands of acres of land and the many thousands of substantial edifices erected and dedicated to the cause of Christ in connection with these missions represent an investment of at least ten million dollars and this money not only represents the generosity of Christians in the West it also includes the self denying offerings of Indian Christians, who from their poverty have given liberally to build up the cause which is dear to their hearts. Mission educational institutions are housed in a legion of substantial and beautiful buildings ranging from the massive imposing structures of the Madras Christian College downward churches there are of all sizes and architectural design from the magnificent and beautiful stone edifice which accommodates its thousands and which was erected by the Church Missionary Society in Megnanapuram Tinnevely down to the unpretentious prayer house of a small village congregation. A host of suitable buildings for hospitals presses, and publishing houses residences for missionaries and native agents school dormitories gymnasiums and lecture halls Young Men's Christian Association and other society buildings — all these represent that power for service, incarnate in brick and mortar, which is invaluable and even indispensable to the great missionary enterprise in that land."

2 *Christian Tools* — Almost as important as the plant

is the fine supply of tools now ready to the hand of the workers. The product of the forty three mission presses of India furnishes every grade of literary educational and evangelistic tool from the cheapest leaflet to the most expensive volume in rare binding and to the number of 4 320 283 copies annually.¹ This record is almost twice as great as that of China its nearest competitor. Chief among these instruments of warfare against ignorance both mental and spiritual is the Word of God. Bible work in India is now conducted in about sixty languages and dialects. The entire Bible is translated into all the great vernaculars as well as into Sanskrit Arabic and Persian. In other languages the New Testament is found complete. But in the larger part of the languages thus far utilized only portions have yet been translated in some instances only a single Gospel. Extensive revisions have been undertaken in nearly all the prominent versions of the Bible some of which have been completed while others are still in progress.² This item of tools is significant not so much on account of the numbers quoted but for the reason that the missionary in India is relieved at this stage of the enterprise of the serious toil resting on those who cannot undertake work until the school room and the church are well stocked with these invaluable aids. Moreover in a land where hostility to Christianity is so strong especially among the better classes effective literature is a secret messenger from God to the immured or timorous soul. No missionary land is so well supplied with helpful literature as India.

3 *Native Agency* — The native Christian catechists preachers teachers and pastors are a most important asset. Apply the following words of Malcom to the majority in the regiments of the Indian native contingent and one can imagine the power resident in their ranks. The import

¹ *Denn's Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions* pp. 177 18 69

² *Report of the Madras Conference 190* pp. 199 200

there are also sinful 'saints' not a few among the Indian Christians. Set over against such persons the vast number of those who are living simple Gospel lives testifying to the world through their words and actions of the grace of God which is in them and then recall that it was not a century ago when the holy Henry Martyn despaired of ever seeing so great a miracle as a Hindu truly converted to God any more than he could hope to see one rise from the grave.

One Test — As a single test of the virility of the average Christian convert in India consider the amount contributed for religious purposes by those who belong almost entirely to that fifth of the Indian people who according to government statistics are in a chronic state of hunger. The same statistics state that the average income for a man having a family is less than \$1.50 per month. A few years ago writes Dr. Jones: "I investigated carefully the economic conditions of the most prosperous and largest village congregation of the Madura Mission. I discovered that \$1.66 was the average monthly income of each family of that congregation. And that meant only thirty-three cents a month for the support of each member of a family." We have congregations whose income is less than this and yet the members of that Mission contributed over seventy-five cents per church member as their offering for 1900. For all the Protestant missions in South India the average offering per church member during 1900 was fifty-two cents. For South India this represented an aggregate sum of \$83,000 or about seven and one-half per cent. of the total sum expended in the missions during that year. If our American Christians contributed for the cause of Christ a percentage of their income equal to that of the native Christians of India they would quadruple their benevolence. The result of such enlarged contributions at home would solve the financial problem.

5 *Native Leaders* — The impression that the Indian Church is without any members of distinction is dispelled by Mr Modak's volumes, from which the following facts are quoted There are in the Church.

15	Protestant Indian Christian civil engineers
92	" " " lawyers
106	" " Christians who have visited foreign countries
354	" " Christian traders
590	" " " medical men
646	" " " authors and editors
1,010	" " " ordained ministers
1,098	" " Christians in government service

"In these calculations many traders whose income is small have not been counted, nor have such government servants been named as hold very humble positions Of mechanical engineers there is a large class forming a strong proportion of those who work as joiners and fitters in workshops and factories The number of those who have visited foreign countries does not include those who have accompanied Europeans as their domestic servants"

Examples — A few conspicuous names are singled out of the mass to illustrate the summary given Others may be found in abundance in Carey's three octavo volumes entitled *Oriental Christian Biography*, in Murdoch's *Sketches of Indian Christians*, and elsewhere Beginning with those early confessors, Krishna Pal and Kothari already mentioned, one passes down through the century noticing the names of such high caste converts as Krishna Mohan Banerjee, D. L., distinguished as a Hindu editor and, after his conversion, as a professor in Bishop's College as a clergyman of the Church of England, and above all as the native father of Bengali literature of Ram Chandra Bose M. A., whose career as an educator would have placed him in the highest official

position, had he not chosen to become an evangelist under the American Methodists, until the demands* made upon him as a lecturer in India and at Chicago University — where he gained his M A — brought him before a larger audience, of Professor Ram Chandra, whose work on the Problems of Maxima and Minima made his name famous in the Universities of Europe, as did later writings on Differential and Integral Calculus, and who became head of the Department of Instruction in one of the native states, of Rev Imad ud din, D D, the most distinguished accession from Indian Mohammedanism, whose conversion is of thrilling interest, and whose twenty four Christian books are a most valued addition to Indian literature and of Rev Narayan Sheshadri a Brahman convert of Dr John Wilson, who gained so enviable a reputation during his visit in America, whence he carried home from McGill University of Montreal the degree of D D Nor do these men belong only to the past At King Edward's coronation in London as Emperor of India twenty representatives of the native Indian Church were present six of them being ruling princes Through the most distinguished of these, Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwalia, K C I E, the Indian Christians presented to their new Sovereign an address, a single paragraph of which we quote as showing the royal spirit of the commonalty and leaders of the native Church alike "Professing the faith of which Your Majesty is the Defender, we devoutly pray that the century which is marked by the beginning of your reign may be signalized by unprecedented triumphs in the progress of Christ's Kingdom, and that Your Majesty's righteous rule may be graciously used by God to further the great end"¹

6 *A New Womanhood* — As before intimated, Christianity's greatest triumph in India has been its creation of

¹ *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1902-1903 p 119*

a new Christian womanhood. In the life of the Christian community she already has a high place of honor and influence. Instead of her education being under the taboo of the Bhagavat, 'The *Vedas* are not to be heard either by the servile class women or degraded Brahmins' — a taboo which included pronunciation, grammar, versification, arithmetic, etc., — recent educational statistics show that on March 31, 1901, there were in Indian schools 429,490 women and girls. According to the tables in *Protestant Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon* giving the data to the end of 1900, there were 106,266 women and girls under instruction in mission schools only. While the data are not complete, they show that at least one fifth of the total number of female scholars and students was in schools of the Christian Church.

Notable Women — Illustrations of the sort of womanhood which is produced by the Christian Church are most interesting. Take for instance the Sorabjis of Western India, a family of converted Parsees. One of the daughters of the family, the widow of an Englishman, lives in London and has delighted the Queen by her exquisite rendering of Persian songs. One sister is an artist whose paintings are exhibited in Paris and London. One is a surgeon of distinction. It was another daughter of this family who was the only representative of her sex from the Orient at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. The most distinguished of these seven sisters is Cornelia Sorabji, the barrister. Her graduating paper on 'Roman Law' at Oxford was classed among the best papers produced by the pupils of that famous institution. She is the first lady barrister of India and is not only a powerful advocate but also a brilliant writer, as her book and her articles on the woman question in the *Nineteenth Century* amply testify. The two Sorabjis are one of the most

and the other the wife of the brilliant professor of Mental and Moral Science in the Presidency College, Madras, are other illustrations of rare intellectual and literary ability, — the younger woman gained an M A, — as well as of deeply consecrated lives Mrs Tabitha Bauboo of the Free Church of Scotland Mission was the pioneer of zenana teaching in high class Hindu families and was also a distinguished educator One of our most spiritual hymns, "In the secret of His presence how my soul delights to hide," suggests the power as a writer of Miss Goreh, daughter of the distinguished clergyman of the High Church party in India, Rev Nehemiah Goreh American audiences recall the grace and winsomeness of Miss Lilavati Singh, B A "It was after hearing Miss Singh's address on the Results of Higher Education, of which she herself is an exponent that General Harrison said, 'If I had given a million dollars to foreign missions, I should count it wisely invested, if it led to the conversion of that one woman,'"¹ a statement that many besides the late ex-President would heartily endorse Miss Chandra Mukhi Bose, M A, — the first Indian woman to receive that degree, — is a fine illustration of what can be done for the Church through education She is the accomplished Principal of the Bethune Girls' College in Calcutta And who in the civilized world does not know Pundita Ramabai and her career as a philanthropist, educator, and Christian reformer? Any land might well be proud of such a name, and any Church under whose banner she fought would be assured of victory in that division

7 *Native Philanthropies* — One of the richest fruits of missionary effort is the appearance of initiative in the native Church itself Already Christian activity has found exercise in enterprises not a few, of which Dr Jones notes Miss Chuckerbutty's flourishing orphanages, Mrs Sorabji's High School for Women, the Gopalgange

¹ *Ecumenical Missionary Conference N Y 1900* vol 1, p 47

Mission of Rev M N Bose, and Dr B P Keskar's Orphanage and Industrial Mission at Sholapur. He likewise mentions more fully Pundit Ramabai's well known institution for child widows at Poona and the later but wider work in the interest of some 2 000 waifs and orphans of her own sex. While financial support is largely derived from the Occident she is its soul and receives the aid of fellow Indians. Thus this Brahman widow is a Christian Barnardo, as well as a social reformer.

8 *Evangelistic Undertakings*—Even more significant is the emergence of native Christians of unusual evangelistic fervor and power. Conspicuous movements are yearly coming to the front one recent instance of which must suffice. It is the Ko San ye Movement in Burma about which the missionaries are still in doubt though it seems to be a remarkable instance of God's power to use a single man. A converted Buddhist ascetic this man of forty is a John the Baptist to the missionaries with whom he heartily cooperates. A discriminating missionary who has narrowly watched his work, mentions the following positive results of his work thus far: (1) It has arrested the drift into Buddhism which was carrying away the heathen Karens and making them as inaccessible to the Gospel as the Burmans. (2) It has weaned many of the Karens from a multitude of customs connected with the old Karen demon worship customs which have been a great stumbling block in the way of accepting Christ. (3) It has awakened the Karens out of the sordid materialism which made so many of them indifferent to any interests above those of the body, and hence made them indifferent to the Gospel with its news of spiritual blessings. (4) It has brought many to a real conviction of the existence, unity, and fatherhood of God. (5) It has provided a wide-open door for evangelistic effort. Ko San ye's adherents receive the Christian preachers gladly, even when they do not accept Christianity. In many quarters, where three

years ago our preaching was met with indifference, it is now eagerly listened to (6) On the Rangoon field the missionaries and the Karen pastors have actually gathered hundreds of Ko San ye's followers into the churches On the Henzada field few have as yet come into the church Many say that they will, but the movement is slow This is not altogether a cause of regret As Ko San ye himself says 'There is no use in baptizing them until they receive a new heart'

His object as expressed to me is to lead the heathen gradually to Christ He seems to think that the heathen Karens will be puzzled and frightened by being asked to accept the Gospel immediately The Karens have largely departed from the monotheism of their ancestors, and Ko San ye seeks by a use of the ancient Karen legends to bring back his people to a purified form of that monotheism He thinks—and experience proves that he rightly thinks—that this will be a comparatively easy step for them He also thinks that when they have come to worship God and have forsaken Buddhism and the old Karen demon worship they will be in a favorable condition to receive the Gospel¹ His phenomenal ability to raise money for religious purposes and his wisdom in forming industrial settlements are other features of this remarkable man's career

III LEAVENING THE EMPIRE

I *Indian Law* — While there is a tendency to overestimate missionary influence in the improved social and moral legislation of the Empire, there is no question but that what Dr George Smith has been quoted as saying of the East India Company's legislation is also true of later measures "Not fewer than twenty laws have thus been enacted in that land during the last century, with a view of putting an end to religious customs which robbed thou

¹ *Baptist Missionary Magazine* September 1903 pp 63 639

sands of people annually of life itself and deprived many thousands more of the most elementary and inalienable rights of human beings. So it has become penal to do any one of the following things all of which were regarded as expressions of the highest religious devotion and were committed with the sanction of the ancestral faith and under the inspiration of its benediction. To burn widows to expose parents to death on the banks of the Ganges to offer up human sacrifices to murder children either by throwing them into the Ganges or by the Rajput secret method of infanticide to encourage men to throw away their lives under temple cars and in other ways of religious devotion to encourage various forms of voluntary self torture and self mutilation to outrage girls under a certain age.¹ This is only a concrete form of the statement made in general terms in the Report of the Secretary of State and Council of India upon the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1872-1873 a sentence of which referring to the missionaries reads. They have frequently addressed the Indian Government on important social questions involving the welfare of the native community and have suggested valuable improvements on existing laws.²

2 *Reforms* — Reforms which have shown their strength in the national conscience only have been furthered by Christian missions. Among these may be named such agitations as have resulted in deep convictions concerning the following subjects. (1) The cruel treatment of widows especially those who are young. (2) the furthering of education among girls and women which gained its first object lessons in early Christian schools and whose principal advocates have been missionaries from the Serampore trio and Duff down to the deliverances of the Madras Conference of 1902. (3) the acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man conspicuously in the mat

¹ Jones *India's Problem* p. 339

² *Blue Book XII Education* p. 153

ter of caste, which Dr Wilson characterized as "the offspring of pride and deceit, the mainspring of hatred division, alienation, and tyranny", (4) the feeling against nautch women, who are the seductive sirens annually alluring to death, under religious sanctions, thousands of India's youth, (5) the demand for a higher moral character in public men, which was voiced in a resolution passed by the Social Conference of 1894 that the "private life and morals of public men should be pure and self-denying as the proper discharge of their duties demands", (6) the growing regard for truth, which is so characteristic of the Church and which was so conspicuously absent in the India of a century ago, and (7) the greater prevalence of honesty and a sense of duty among the higher ranks of society.¹ The Indian National Congress, which brings together annually some 5 000 native gentlemen for the discussion of matters of state and of society, is too often critical and abusive in its tone yet on its higher side, its deliberations are at once helpful and difficult to explain had there not arisen a better social and moral conscience as a by product of Christian teaching

3 *Christian Ideals* — In the realm of religion Christianity has widely leavened the Indian Empire True ideas of God the annulling of the old divorce between morality and religion, thus uniting again what God meant should never be dissevered and the disintegration of the old views of worship by the introduction of the spiritual elements of true prayer and consecration, — these are more important contributions of Christian missions to India's moral development, and they are so regarded by the leaders in native religious reforms

The Ideal — But far above all those abstract ideas of morality and religion which have come from the Christian faith is Christianity's Incarnate Ideal who has been greeted with enthusiasm by men and women of all the In

¹ See Murdoch *History of Christianity in India* pp 126 & 8.

dian creeds. The devotion to Jesus as the highest of all ideals is one of the most hopeful signs of the present day in India. Proof of this enthusiasm for Jesus has already been seen in Chapter IV, but another significant utterance, typical of many similar ones, is subjoined. It is from an address delivered in the theater of the Medical College, Calcutta, on May 5, 1866, by Keshab Chander Sen. Speaking of Jesus, he says "How He lived and died, how His ministry, extending over three short years, produced amazing results and created almost new life in His followers, how His words, spoken in thrilling but simple eloquence, flew like wildfire and inflamed the enthusiasm of the multitudes to whom He preached, how in spite of awful discouragements, He succeeded in establishing the Kingdom of God in the hearts of some at least, and how ultimately He sacrificed Himself for the benefit of mankind are facts of which most of you here present are no doubt aware. I shall not enter into the details of His life and ministry, as my present business is simply with the influence which He exercised on the world. It cannot be denied that it was solely for His thorough devotion to the cause of truth and the interests of suffering humanity that He patiently endured all the privations and hardships which came in His way, and met that fierce storm of persecution which His infuriated antagonists poured on His devoted head. It was from no selfish impulse, from no spirit of mistaken fanaticism that He bravely and cheerfully offered Himself to be crucified on the cross. He laid down His life that God might be glorified. I have always regarded the cross as a beautiful emblem of self sacrifice unto the glory of God one which is calculated to quicken the higher feelings and aspirations of the heart and to purify the soul, and I believe there is not a heart how callous and hard soever it may be, that can look with cold indifference on that grand and significant symbol. Such honorable and disinterested self sacrifice has pro-

duced, as might be anticipated, wonderful results, the noble purpose of Christ's noble heart has been fully achieved, as the world's history will testify. The vast moral influence of His life and death still lives in human society and animates its movements."¹

IV CONFLICTING TESTIMONIES

1 *Adverse Testimony—Steevens*—The work of Christian missions and the lives of the missionaries and their converts have been the object of criticism and of commendation. The harmfulness of the testimony against missions often lies in its brevity. Thus in the late G W Steevens' *In India*, the reader finds imbedded in a profusion of details concerning education, salt, canals, the villager, the Rajah, Sikh shrines etc., etc., only these few lines devoted to Christianity. 'What else have we to count on for the regeneration of India? Christianity? It has made few converts and little enough improvement in the few, is it not too exotic a religion to thrive in Indian soil? These words and a reference to "the little Scotch missionary," who seems to chiefly enjoy his own sermons, which are occasionally preached to a few Europeans gathered in a drawing room suffice, in the opinion of this vivacious newspaper correspondent, for the greatest factor in the life of India to day.

Townsend—Wholly different is the estimate of the work of missions by a careful student of world conditions, Mr Meredith Townsend. For the missionaries he has little but praise, their methods he heartily despises. In his *Asia and Europe* he discusses the difficulties of evangelizing India which in his opinion, doom the enterprise to failure. Without making any reference to his discussion of difficulties due to differences of Occidental and Hindu

¹ Young *The Success of Christian Missions* pp. 91, 9

² Steevens *In India* p. 358

minds to differences of climate, race and history, and without pausing to quote his amplification of the suggestive thesis. There is far too much fear of imperfect Christianity in the entire missionary organization, we quote Mr Maconachie's summary of his main criticism "The greatest obstacle however to the rapid diffusion of Christianity in India is the method adopted to secure proselytes." Mr Townsend laments the want of volunteers though he states that want in stronger terms than the facts warrant and the fewness of the missionaries who should he thinks be Indian not Englishmen especially when the latter attempt to saturate Easterns with the West' obtaining if successful 'a hybrid caste not quite European not quite Indian with the originality killed out of them with self reliance weakened with all mental aspirations wrenched violently in a direction which is not their own' He desiderates not a Free Church College teaching thousands of Brahmans English but an El Azhar for training native missionaries through their own tongue and in their own ways of thought exclusively — a college which should produce not baboos competent to answer examination papers from Cambridge but Christian fanatics learned in the Christianized learning of Asia and ready to stand forth to preach and teach and argue and above all to command as the missionaries of Islam do. How far Townsend's criticism is justified by facts and how deficient in insight the reader can judge from considerations found on preceding pages.

Other Criticisms — A host of other objections to the work of the missionaries in India are of a kind anticipated and answered by David Bogue in an address delivered before the London Missionary Society in 1795. Perhaps the most notable case of criticism is the one numbered 9th in his list. What right have we to interfere with the re-

ligion of other nations?' In a recent sermon preached by Bishop Welldon, Metropolitan of Calcutta, occurs a concise reply to that old argument 'There was a time when the inhabitants of Great Britain were in civilization hardly superior to the nations which the Church is now essaying to evangelize But Christianity came to Great Britain,

it worked great changes in the course of centuries, it became fruitful in justice liberty and benevolence, and in my heart I confess that I have never heard any argument which is urged against the effort of the Christian Church to convert by fair and generous means the Mohammedan or heathen regions of the earth at the present day, but it might have been urged and I dare say it was urged fifteen centuries ago, against the primitive, remote and pagan people who were then called Britons"² If a more detailed answer to this objection is desired the reader may find it, if he will re read Chapter IV of the present volume

Critics Characterized — Critics of Indian missions were thus characterized by Sir A Mackenzie, C S I, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces in an address given at Jubbulpore in 1888 'In my experience, those who deprecate mission work are generally people who know nothing, and care to know nothing about it Ignorance is the distinguishing characteristic of the ordinary despiser of missions, at home and abroad There are no doubt however, critics who take more pains and still arrive at unfavorable conclusions We must not refuse to listen when these men point out what may be weak spots in our armor *Fas est ab hoste doceri*—and if we may learn from our enemies, we may certainly do so from those who style themselves our friends For the rest however I detect in most of the criticisms of these so-called candid friends—candor, by the way, is generally a synonym for caustic—I detect, I say in most of them a one sidedness of view

² *Missionary Review of the World* May 1901 p 400

and a certain absence of sympathetic touch, which would, in any other sphere of thought, stamp them as quite unfit for the critical function"¹

2 *Commendations*—*Keshab Chander Sen*—As in the case of criticisms, so in presenting commendations a very few are selected as types of scores of similar import. And first let us hear what natives say of the work of the missionaries. In the newspapers of Calcutta an address of eminent non Christians of that city to the Metropolitan and Bishops assembled in the Town Hall was recently printed. Here is a quotation "In the British conquest of India we mark the direct hand of a loving and saving Providence. You have already achieved what millions of England's armed men, as well as its network of railways and telegraphs its trade and commerce, and a thousand other agencies for furthering the material prosperity of the country, could never have done. You are trying to win the heart of India by infusing into it the Gospel of love and good will. The Bible which you have brought to the country is an inestimable boon and the sweet and sacred name of your beloved Master, which has already revolutionized the world, is unto us a benefaction, the true value of which we can not yet adequately conceive. Whether India will accept any of the many forms of Christianity, or whether she will be incorporated with any of the sects of Christendom, appears to us very doubtful, but of this there is no doubt, that our country can not be without Christ. He has become a necessity unto us—a greater necessity than food and raiment. Christ Jesus, whose name you have had the honor of introducing to us, has already caught hold of the country, and no power can snatch India away from His sacred hands. India is now Christ's, and Christ is India's, so deeply has He entered into her life blood"²

¹ Young *The Success of Christian Missions* p. 147

² *Church Missionary Intelligencer* December 1901 p. 399

Prince Singh — Another native of India, Prince Har nam Singh, said in London in 1887 ‘ There are many who put the question, What good are missionaries doing in India? I say without any hesitation, that had it not been for the knowledge that had been imparted by these humble, unpretending men, not English laws and English science, no, nor British arms, would have effected such changes in the social condition as is evident to all observing men in these days. Do we look back to the work done by such eminent men as our most distinguished statesmen, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence, Lord Ripon, or even the present grand representative in India, Lord Dufferin, for the new light that has been shed over that dark continent? No! We look back to the time when such men as Marshman and Carey and pre-eminently that great and learned man, that devoted servant of Christ, Dr Duff, first introduced that mysterious little volume, the Word of God, which shows a man the secrets of his own heart and tells him how he can be reconciled to God, as no other book does ”’

Sir W. M. Young — In an address delivered in March, 1903, in London, by Sir W. Mackworth Young, ex Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab occur these striking words. “ As a business man speaking to business men I am prepared to say that the work which has been done by missionary agency in India exceeds in importance all that has been done — and much has been done — by the British Government since its commencement. Let me take the province which I know best. I ask myself what has been the most potent influence which has been working among the people since annexation fifty four years ago and to that question I feel there is but one answer — Christianity, as set forth in the lives and teachings of Christian missionaries. I do not underestimate the forces which have been brought to bear on the races in the Punjab by

supporting the cause of missions in India. I say this for two reasons. I say it, first, because when you are told that these missionary societies are nonsense, supported by a pack of old women getting together, then you may point to these men, the best statesmen and the best soldiers of India, who have, by their lives, and on every occasion on which they could, supported mission work. And I say it besides, because I wish to point out that these men are the men in whom, more than any others, the natives of India, whether Christians or not, had the greatest confidence.¹

3 "*Judge Ye*" — The question of the value of Christian missions in India can not be decided from a few quotations pro and con. Yet any fair-minded reader could easily decide for himself, if the records and character of the various critics and defenders of missions were known. Any one can see that flitting newspaper correspondents should not be regarded as authorities for or against a cause about which they take no pains to learn, or concerning which they have violent prejudices. It would seem that men of world wide fame, who in a secular capacity have known these people and whose Christian character is unquestioned, should be regarded as more competent to testify than those of the former class. Such a witness as Meredith Townsend is in a distinct category, though it would be easy to show the incorrectness of many of the criticisms of missions in his *Asia and Europe*.² Yet the inexpert could anticipate the probable judgments of a man who in discussing the difficulties of India's evangelization boasts that his beliefs on this subject are "based on conversations with Brahmins of great acuteness, continued through a period of

¹ *Report of the Centenary Conference London 1885* vol. I p. 191.

² It is a statement as to the male missionary force — see page 75 — which is small enough at best is just about half the real number if he refers to the date of the imprint of his book 1901. One man at least who is not a society secretary would willingly accept his challenge on the bottom of page 77.

years, but with Brahmans exclusively.'¹ One would hardly go to Guido for a true estimate of Caponsacchi or expect favorable opinions of Cromwell's Ironsides from the Cavaliers.

V CHRISTIAN OPPORTUNITY IN INDIA

1 "*Oportunitie*," no "*Importunitie*" — George Puttenham quaintly remarks, "Every thing hath his season which is called *Oportunitie*, and the vnfitnessse or vndecency of the time is called *Importunitie*."² The survey of the Indian situation surely bears one out in the assertion that this is the time of golden opportunity, and that there is nothing to render the enlargement of the work in opportune. Recapitulating, the following are some of the elements which constitute this period a crisis and a corresponding opportunity if the Christian Church will awake to the greatness of its responsibility and privilege.

2 *Physical Factors* — The Empire is favorably located for sustaining a population far more vast than it has at present even. "India possesses all the needful climates. Her soil is rich. Much of it is still virgin soil, despite the many millions of people. Take the Presidency of Madras as an example. The arable area in that one Presidency is 72 858 000 acres but the portion which is actually cultivated is only 26 580 000. The rest is uncultivated land. Of the land under cultivation only twenty per cent is irrigated. The unirrigated and dry land is eighty per cent. Of the latter a very large part consists of the worst of soils. The tillage on these soils is also very poor. Our native plow stirs but does not overturn the soil and seldom penetrates to a greater depth than three inches. There is also no such thing as after-cultivation, or hoeing. As to our irrigated land, while it is under crops, it re-

¹ Townsend *Asia and Europe* pp. 67, 68.

² Puttenham *The Art of English Poetrie* p. 223.

ceives very little attention beyond watering and weeding.¹ As irrigation canals are constantly being increased and as the model farms and institutions for teaching farming gain in popularity and efficiency we may confidently expect greater populations in the future than in the past. While famines and plagues have made the percentage of increase in population exceptionally small during the last decade the fact that over seven millions or one tenth the population of the United States were added to its wealth of life writes opportunity in large letters.

Communication — India differs from Africa or China in point of easy accessibility. All the important lines of Oriental steamers touch at Indian ports landing American missionaries after less than a month's voyage. Once ashore great arteries of railway 25 373 miles in length stretch out to every part of the Empire, while from the railways 171 384 miles of road more than one fourth of which are metled connect them with remote hamlets. Dak bungalows or travelers rest houses stand ready to receive the missionary if he does not prefer the easily portable tent. If accessibility is an element of opportunity no non Christian land except Japan can compare with India.

3 *Political Aids* — In the Providence of God this next to the most populous empire of the world is under the rule of a Protestant Emperor Britain's Christian King. This insures protection to the missionary and his convert it enacts humane laws and furthers the physical and mental well being of nearly 300 000 000 of our fellow men it encourages the lowest who through its own and the missionary's efforts have become fitted to become factors in India's higher life to occupy positions of influence in the nation so that the call from the nets is a summons to thrones as it was to the first disciples centuries ago. Even that exceedingly difficult problem of most Mohammedan

lands, the protection and use of converts from that fanatical faith, is solved in India thanks to Christian rule. If the arm of flesh is a factor in opportunity, this Empire is the realm of favoring circumstance.

4 *Religious Need* —The demonstrated need of a people constitutes an appealing opportunity. A deputation sent out to India and Ceylon in 1901 by America's oldest foreign missionary society, the American Board, had this to say on their return: "We seized every opportunity to investigate the religions of those countries and to study the public and private life they produce. They have utterly failed to inspire the people to anything that is uplifting and ennobling. Three thousand and more years of Hinduism have fully demonstrated its lack of ability to hold a mighty race from sinking lower and lower in ignorance and immorality. This condition is observed by the intelligent Hindus, who are free to confess that India's only hope is in the Christian religion. It is impossible for the foreigner to appreciate or understand the utter lack of unity or co-operation among the native peoples of India. With their more than one hundred languages and races with their minute subdivision into thousands of castes with their perfect chaos of nature religions and diversity of cults, there seems to be no ground on which this great and really capable people can meet or hold fellowship, unless Christianity can come in with its one God, its one human fraternity, its one tongue, and its one blessed hope for all, high and low, rich or poor, male and female. And this one meeting place and one helpful bond of fellowship our missionaries are presenting and establishing. Hinduism confesses itself powerless, and, in its helplessness, turns to the West, from which the light of Christian civilization sheds its inspiring rays upon caste-bound, helpless India."¹ Just as Christendom speedily listened to the cry

¹ *Report of the Deputation Sent by the American Board to India and Ceylon in 1901* pp. 52-53.

of the famishing and plague stricken so that funds contributed in America were flashed beneath the seas and were distributed the following day in India's remote villages so the Christian Church should grasp the opportunity expressing itself in this unconscious it may be but nevertheless 'exceeding bitter cry

5 *Opportunity's Prophets* — The success vouchsafed to the work of the past is a call for further and more vigorous onset. Not to respond will be to precipitate the unfitness or indecency of the time [which] is called Importunity. One of Meredith Townsend's indictments against Indian missions is this. The Reformed Churches of Europe and America have devoted themselves to the old object with some zeal and commendable perseverance but they have entirely failed to secure volunteers for the work ' and then he proceeds to lash the Church for having only a beggarly contingent of about 700 men in their proselyting service for mighty India. The unconscious reply of the Madras Conference to this innuendo is found in this resolution. Accepting it as a principle that India must ultimately be brought to Christ by its own sons and daughters and bearing in mind that the first and greatest need of the fields which we represent is a large increase in the number of native workers both paid and voluntary the Conference yet expresses its strong conviction that the number of foreign missionaries set apart for preaching the Gospel in the vernaculars of the people is both wholly inadequate to the needs of the work and unworthy of the resources of the Christian Church. In forming this conviction the Conference has before it the facts (1) that of the foreign missionaries now on the field a large number are engaged in educational and institutional work (2) that missionaries placed in charge of stations or districts and considered as set apart for evangelistic work have their time so greatly occupied in the

work of organizing and administration, arising from the success of past labor, that but a small part of their attention can be given to the work of teaching and preaching the Gospel in the vernaculars. When these reductions are made, it is evident that the number of foreign missionaries whose time is chiefly given to this duty is deplorably small. This Conference would urge that every missionary society should strenuously seek to accomplish the evangelization of its field in this generation, this being understood to mean the thorough and systematic preaching of the Gospel in the language of the people in every place within that period."¹

A John the Baptist — The first society to take aggressive action along the line of this prophetic call is that of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. At a meeting of that mission held at Sialkot, six weeks before the Madras Conference convened, it was voted, among other provisions " (IV) That at the present rate of progress we could not reasonably expect the people of our field generally to become Christians within a period of less than two or three centuries, during which time many generations of men and women would have passed into eternity (V) That we believe it to be the duty of our Church to secure the evangelization of this field within the period of a single generation — that is, so to bring the essential principles of the Gospel to the attention of all classes in that time, that no one of mature understanding could say that he was not acquainted with the way of everlasting life (VI) In order to do this it is our firm conviction that besides enough missionaries to properly man our educational and other institutions and supply the places of persons home on furlough, we should have at least one male missionary and one lady evangelistic missionary for every 50,000 of the people within our bounds together with a manifold larger force of native

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference 1902* pp. 15-76

pastors and evangelists to work with them"¹ In pursuance of this resolve, the Board has called home from India one of the strongest of the younger missionaries and an energetic campaign is being prosecuted. The action of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church authorizing this step follows "The appeal of foreign missionary associations in India and Egypt for a definite increase in missionary forces should be regarded as evidence of God's awakening of the Church to a clear apprehension of her missionary obligations, and with the aim of reaching this ideal presented by missionaries in the field, and speedily evangelizing the lands especially entrusted to our Church, the Board is instructed to begin a campaign of interest and effort whereby through individuals and congregations the support of new missionaries and their work may be secured without endangering or weakening the support of present work"

6 *Failure to Hear* — What the failure to hear this voice of opportunity, which is manifestly the voice of God, means to the Church and to the field, is intimated by India's great civilian, the late Sir William Hunter, who in a paper read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts in London, in 1888, uttered these pregnant words "It is not permitted to a lecturer here to speak as the advocate of any creed. But on this, as on every platform in England, it is allowed to a man to speak as an Englishman, and, speaking as an Englishman, I declare my conviction that English missionary enterprise is the highest modern expression of the world wide national life of our race. I regard it as the spiritual complement of England's instinct for colonial expansion and imperial rule. And I believe that any falling off in England's missionary efforts will be a sure sign of swiftly coming national decay"²

¹ *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America 1903*, pp. 40, 41

² Young, *Success of Christian Missions*, p. 132

Nor is America debarred from a similar responsibility, nay, it is her chief outlet for world conquering ambitions. Says the Bishop of Newcastle "So far has America realized, the need of winning India to Christ that a hundred years hence, if the last thirty years' proportion continue, India will owe its Christianity more to America than to Great Britain and Ireland combined" To which Dr Jones adds 'While all this means a great achievement, it means also and pre eminently, a stirring opportunity. The widest door of opportunity is open to America among her antipodes in that historic land. Christian effort can nowhere else find heartier welcome or results more encouraging and telling in the great gathering of Eastern nations into the Kingdom of our Lord"¹

7 *Reenforcements* — The last word in this all too meager presentation of a worthy field should be from the workers themselves. From the Appeal to the Home Churches of the Madras Conference of 1902, we quote the following paragraphs which owe much to the advocacy and object lesson of the United Presbyterian Mission. "Although modern missionaries have been at work in India for more than a century, the fact remains that the number of foreign missionaries at present engaged in the work in these lands is not only wholly inadequate to enable them to avail themselves of the opportunities that press upon them but also far below what the resources of the Christian Church can well afford to maintain. Even if the clear and intelligible statement of the Gospel message to each inhabitant were all that we aimed at, yet the body of foreign missionaries and native preachers at present at work would be deplorably inadequate, as it will suffice for the regular visitation of only a small proportion of the inhabitants and the vast majority of villages are not regularly visited at all. We fully recognize that the greatest part of this work of district evangelization must be done,

¹ Jones *India's Problem* pp 330-331

not by foreigners, but by members of the Indian Christian Church. But to train these Indian Christian workers and to supervise and direct their work, there will for many years to come be required a considerable number of foreign missionaries. It is thought to be anything but an extravagant estimate of the needs of the country, if we ask that there be one male and one female missionary for every 50,000 of the population, and this would mean the quadrupling of our present numbers. It is the opinion of sober, thoughtful and zealous men that, in order to carry on thoroughly the work now in hand and to enter the most obviously open doors which God has set before this Church in India, the missionary staff of the country should be at least doubled within the next ten years.

Kind of Workers Needed — "It is not simply numbers that are required. The work to be done is intensive as well as extensive. The quality of the workers sent out is of even more importance than the numbers. As there is need of a large diversity of gifts, we appeal to those of the most highly educated classes of our native lands who have consecrated their lives to the obedience of Christ to consider whether there is not a call to many of them to dedicate their talents which are largely the heritage of seventeen centuries of Christian privilege and enlightenment, to the uplifting of their brothers and sisters in foreign lands, who have had fewer advantages. We would appeal to ministers and educationists and other men of scholarship, to doctors and nurses, to writers and journalists, to men of organizing power and business experience, and to Christian ladies and gentlemen possessed of private pecuniary resources, to ask themselves whether they can not hear a call of God to this work. At the same time every worker endued with the spirit of love, of power, and of a sound mind, and possessing the qualities that go to make the successful minister at home, will find here abundant scope for the exercise of all his gifts.

India's Crisis — "We are well aware that the above facts apply not only to work in India but to work in most if not all parts of the mission field. But we feel that there is a special urgency in this appeal in the case of India, Burma, and Ceylon. (1) Because of the abundant and unique facilities for work throughout these great dependencies of the British Crown, and the large measure in which their people are absorbing Western ideas. (2) Because India, now awaking from the sleep of centuries is in its most plastic and formative condition, so that the impressions, good or ill, which it receives in these present fateful years, are likely to affect its future for centuries to come. (3) Because this critical time is rapidly passing. Many forms of worldliness, and many motives at variance with the Spirit of Christ are competing for the dominion of the Indian mind and heart, and loss of the present opportunity may multiply our difficulties and enfeeble and hamper our work in the coming decades.

"For Christ's Sake" — "In the name of Christ, our Common Lord, for the sake of those who, lacking Him, are as sheep without a shepherd, we ask you to listen to our appeal. You, under God, have sent us forth to India. We count it a privilege to give our lives to this land. For Christ's sake and the Gospel's strengthen our hands, and enable us to press on towards the goal of our great calling when the Kingdom of the World shall become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ."¹

¹ *Report of the Madras Conference, 1902* pp. 204-207

APPENDIX A—Annotated Bibliography

The works mentioned below constitute only an inappreciable part of the extensive literature on India in English. Those have been chosen which are most commonly found in American libraries and for that reason the proportion of works published in Europe is comparatively small. Very few periodicals have been entered in this list and of these only two have been referred to for specific suggestions for different chapters. The *Missionary Review of the World* is the one most widely found in libraries and hence a large number of articles have been suggested from that source.

The heavy faced type is used to indicate authors and also the chapters in the text book which sections of the volume under consideration and quoted thereafter illustrate. In most cases the names of authors or works are prefaced by an initial letter. These suggest the value of the material recommended as far as authorship is a criterion. The several letters have the following values:

- m indicates Indian missionary authorship
- n indicates native authorship
- o indicates that the author is an official of a missionary society
- r indicates prolonged residence of the author in India
- t marks books written by travelers in India
- v indicates that book was in part the outgrowth of missionary visitation
- * indicates unusual value of the work so marked

**Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*. This periodical is invaluable for every phase of work in India. Consult Inhalt and Sachregister noting especially those articles in the Missionsrundscha section and the biographies of Indian workers in the Beiblatt section.

**Bailey W. C. *The Lepers of our Indian Empire*. 1891. Illustrating Ch. VI throughout for leper work.

Barnes I. H. *Behind the Parda: The Story of C. E. Z. M. S. Work in India*. 1897. Illustrating Chs. III, VI throughout for the condition of women and pictures of work for them.

Barrows J. H. editor. *The World's Parliament of Religions*. 2 vols. 1893. Illustrating Ch. IV pp. 316-339 (Hinduism) pp. 968-978 (Vivekananda on Hinduism) pp. 345-351 1226-1229 (Brama Sama); pp. 787-779 (social reform) pp. 898-920 (Parsees); pp. 1083-1092 (religious debt to Asia Mozoomdar) pp. 1222-1226 (Jaina). For Ch. VI pp. 456-460 (concessions to native ideas) pp. 1269-1276 (Christian and Hindu ideas). For Ch. VIII pp. 1172-1178 (religious outlook).

*Barth A. *The Religions of India*. 1892. Illustrating Ch. II ch. I (Vedic religions) ch. II (Brahmanism) ch. III (Buddhism), ch. IV (Jainism). For Ch. IV (modern Hinduism).

Beach H. P. *A Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*. 2 vols. 1901. 1903. Illustrating Ch. VIII especially by its missionary maps vol. II plates 10-12.

Bettany G. T. *The World's Religions*. 1891. Illustrating Ch. IV pp. 84-99 (religion of aborigines) pp. 176-213 (Vedic religion and Brahmanism) pp. 220-227 (Buddha and his doctrines) pp. 231-254 (modern Hinduism) pp. 302-310 (Burmese Buddhism) pp. 337-352 (Jainism) pp. 360-370 (modern Parsees).

Bliss E. M. editor. *The Encyclopedia of Missions*. 2 vols. 1891. Illustrating Ch. IV articles Hinduism Mohammedanism. For Ch. V article India.

- *Bose R. C. *Brahmoism or History of Reformed Hinduism* Illustrating Chs IV and VII throughout
- *Bose R. C. *Hindu Philosophy Popularly Examined* 1884 Illustrating Ch. II chs i iv For Ch VII chs x xii and supplement (modern schools of philosophy)
- *Bose R. C. *The Hindus as They Are* 2d ed 1883 Illustrating Ch. III ch I (Hindu household) ch III (Hindu schoolboy) chs iv v xvii xix xxii xxiii (girls women and married life) ch xxii (caste) ch xiv (Brahmans) For Ch IV chs vi xii (religious festivals) ch xx (death and funeral ceremonies)
- *Brown W. *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen Since the Reformation* 3d ed 3 vols 1854 Illustrating Ch V vol i pp 133 176 (Danish India workers) vol ii pp 327 366 (Church Missionary Society) pp 474-493 (General Assembly Church of Scotland) pp 494-503 (Free Church of Scotland) vol III pp 1 12 (American Board) pp 246 303 (Baptist Missionary Union) pp 373 370 (general summary)
- *Butler W. *The Land of the Vedas* 1894 Illustrating Ch II chs iv vi (Sepoy Mutiny) For Ch III ch I (people caste) ch II (woman)
- *Carmichael A. Wilson. *Things as They Are* Mission Work in South India 1903 Illustrating Ch I throughout for South Indian scenery For Ch III the home life of lower classes For Ch IV see especially chs xxi xxiv For Ch VI throughout gives unexcelled accounts of work for women among lower classes For Ch VII particularly chs xiv xvi For Ch VIII pp 41-44 chs xviii xxii xxiii
- *Chamberlain J. *In the Tiger Jungle* 1906 Illustrating Ch VI ch v (power of song) ch vi (tracts) chs viii xi (touring) chs vii xii xiii (work at a station) For Ch VII chs xxi xxii (oppression and persecution of converts) For Ch VIII ch xxiii (triumph of Christianity)
- *Chamberlain J. *The Cobra & Den* 1900 Illustrating Ch IV chs i xi For Ch VI chs iv ix (medical work) chs iii vi viii (itinerating and book-selling) For Ch VIII ch xix (Hindu Christians contributions)
- *Children of India. *Written for the Children of England* No date Illustrating Ch IV Parts iii iv (gods festivals religions)
- *Church Missionary Intelligencer. Its fifty four volumes contain a vast number of authoritative articles on every phase of India and its missions
- *Clark R. *The Punjab and Sikh Missions of the Church Missionary Society* 1885 Illustrating Ch III ch v (people of Punjab and Sikhs) For Ch VI good throughout For Ch VII ch xvi (native church council) ch xvii (political aspects of missions) ch xxi (difficulties and dangers)
- *Clough E. R. *While Sewing Sandals* Tales of a Telugu Pariah Tribe 1899 Illustrating Chs IV VI throughout for the way in which converts come through local traditions and religions to Christianity
- *Clough J. E. *From Darkness to Light* the Story of a Telugu Convert 1887 Illustrating Ch VI (excellent for Southeastern India)
- *Cobb H. N. *Far Hence* A Budget of Letters from Our Mission Fields in Asia 1903 Illustrating Chs V and VI chs iv xvi (work in Reformed Church of America's Missions)
- *Cooponsawamey. *Every-day Life in South India* An Autobiography 1883 Illustrating Ch III good for native convert's life throughout For Ch IV chs v vi viii For Ch VI ch xi (woman's work) ch ix (mission schools) ch xiv (mission life) ch xvi (receiving baptism) ch xix (unsatisfactory converts)
- *Cout R. N. *Pictures of Indian Life* 1881 Illustrating Ch III ch vi (village) ch xii (the family) ch xx (caste) ch xxiii (women) For Ch IV ch xiii
- *Davida T. W. *Bhaya* Buddhism 1894 Illustrating Ch II chs ii iii (Buddha's life) ch ix (spread of Buddhism)
- *Denning M. B. *Mosaics from India* 1902 Illustrating Ch. I ch xi

- (famine) chs ii vii xiii (parts of India) For Ch III chs vi vii x (girls and women) ch ii (Government) ch xv (caste) For Ch IV ch xviii (gods and religion) ch xix (pilgrimages and holy places) For Ch VIII ch iii (missions in India) ch v (Ramabal and her widows)
- *Dennis J S Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions Being a Conspectus of the Achievements and Results of Evangelical Missions in All Lands at the Close of the Nineteenth Century 1902 Illustrating Chs VI and VIII Its tables of every form of missionary activity are unsurpassed in their details
- Dennis J S Foreign Missions after a Century 1893 Illustrating Ch VIII pp 96 105 (appeal based on conditions in 1893)
- *Dubois J A Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies 2 vols 1897 Illustrating Chs III IV throughout but especially in Part I
- *Dutt R C Ancient India 2000 B C — 200 A D 1893 Illustrating Chs II and IV throughout
- *Dyer H S Pandita Ramabal 1900 Illustrating Chs III VI VIII throughout for woman's and philanthropic work
- *East and the West (The) Illustrating Ch III April 1903 pp 121 133 (moral tone of India) For Ch IV April 1903 pp 148 153 (reform of Mohammedan education) pp 171 181 (Anglo Indian novelists and Hinduism) July 1903 pp 306 316 (place of Ait in Eastern religious thought) For Ch VI April 1903 pp 190 205 (missionary work and native education) For Ch VII April 1903 pp 206 215 (men and money) July 1903 pp 330 337 (Dr Oldfield a criticisms of Indian missions) For Ch VIII July 1903 pp 201 263 (attitude of educated Hindus toward Christianity)
- *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York 1900 2 vols 1900 Illustrating Ch VI see index references under India For Ch VIII vol I ch xxi (general survey)
- *Elphinstone M The History of India 1874 Illustrating Ch II throughout for Hindu and Mohammedan periods
- Encyclopaedias General Consult the articles Brahmanism Buddhism Hinduism India Jainism Mohammedanism Parsees Sikhs etc The tenth edition of the Britannica is particularly good on recent events and conditions
- Fitchett W H The Tale of the Great Mutiny 1901 Illustrating Ch IV for a mutiny only
- Fraser R W British India 1897 Illustrating Ch V throughout especially for government the mutiny (ch xiv) and moral and material progress (ch xvi)
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- *Fuller Mrs M B The Wrings of Indian Womanhood 1900 Illustrating Ch III throughout for various classes of women For Ch VI chs xvi xviii (woman's work)
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- *Marashman J C The History of India 3 vols 1867 Illustrating Ch II especially from 976 A D to 1858
- *Maxwell E B The Bishop's Conversion 1892 Illustrating Ch VI especially good as an apologetic for missions and for vivid pictures of the work
- Menzies A History of Religion 1890 Illustrating Ch II chs xiv xviii (early Aryan religion) For Ch IV ch xiii (Islam) ch xix (Brahmanism) ch xx (Buddhism)
- *Missionary Conference South India and Ceylon 1879 2 vols 1880 Illustrating Ch IV vol 1 pp 290-320 (danger of coming out of heathenism) ch xi (Mohammedanism) For Ch V vol ii pp 1-256 (historical sketches of societies) pp 329-440 (Catholic missions) For Ch VI vol i pp 5-30 (vernacular evangelistic work) pp 30-67 (new converts) pp 68-103 (higher education) pp 104-138 (educated Hindus and how reached) pp 139-155 (middle and lower class education) pp 156-192 (female education) pp 193-234 (Sundar schools and Bible classes) pp 235-262 (orphanages and industrial work) pp 263-268 (medical work) pp 270-293 309-404 (native Church) pp 346-397 (native ministry) pp 404-421 (coolportage)
- Missionary Review of the World Illustrating Ch I 1898 Jan pp 36-41 Feb pp 119-122 (famine and plague) Aug pp 580-587 (disatisfaction with Government)
- For Ch II 1891 Feb pp 108-117 (Buddha and Christ) — 1894 Mar pp 179-187 Apr pp 234-238 (early religions) — 1898 May pp 326-332 (Jainism)
- For Ch III 1890 Apr pp 248-254 (life among Karens) — 1894 Feb pp 99-102 (caste women) Apr pp 267-270 (child marriage) Apr pp 445-447 (hill tribes) — 1895 Apr pp 2-6 279 (Parlihs) — 1897 Apr pp 200-203 (caste) May pp 368-371 (Savara hill tribe) — 1898 Apr pp 249-256 (women) Apr pp 256-261 (sweeper caste) — 1899 Dec pp 907-915 (village system) — 1900 May pp 355-359 (Hindus of South India) — 1901 Apr pp 264-267 (the Todas) — 1902 Jan pp 18-22 (Gonds)
- For Ch IV 1890 Jy pp 501-507 (the Samajes) — 1891 Apr pp 274-276 (Khasi traditions of Creation) — 1893 Apr pp 241-248 (Brahmanism) May pp 329-336 (Hinduism) — 1895 Apr pp 260-267 (19th century reformers) May pp 331-339 (idolatry) — 1896 Apr pp 260-265 (Hinduism's changed front) — 1897 Apr pp 248-252 (Hinduism) — 1898 Nov pp 827-833 (doctrine of sacrifice) — 1899 Apr pp 273-276 (Benares) — 1901 Apr pp 271-275 (sacred trees and rivers) — 1903 May pp 321-328 (Mohammedanism)
- For Ch V 1889 Jan pp 14-20 (Martyrs) Dec pp 720-733 (Carey) — 1891 Apr pp 241-249 (Jesuit work) Mar pp 172-179 Apr pp 247-254 (Christianity in India) — 1896 Oct pp 704-717 (Malabar Syrians) — 1900 Apr pp 276-281 (Lacroix) — 1903 Feb pp 112-118 (Catholic view of India)

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- * Ratzel F The History of Mankind 3 vols 1893 Illustrating Ch III vol III pp 371 394 (common life caste etc) pp 430-437 (hill tribes especially in Burma)
- * Reclus E The Earth and Its Inhabitants Asia 1891 Illustrating Chs I and III vol III chs i xv exceedingly picturesque and helpful throughout
- * Rees J D The Muhammadans 1891 1894 Illustrating Ch II
- * Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions of the World held in Exeter Hall (June 9th 19th) London 1888 2 vols 1889 For Illustrating Ch IV vol I pp 12 17 28 29 (Mohammedanism) pp 33 40 (Buddhism) pp 40-50 (Jainism) pp 50-60 (Hindulism and Christianity) pp 60-68 (Parsees) For Ch VI vol II pp 126-132 (medical missions) pp 147 151 (women's work) pp 192 193 212 216 230-246 253 256 (education) pp 258 263 (literature) 259-260 (general methods) 264-276 (training workers) pp 411-415 (industrial training) For Ch VII vol II pp 51 81 (polygamy question)
- * Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference held Madras December 11-18 1902 1903 Illustrating Ch VI (native Church) pp 76-79 (ministry and its training) pp 49 for young pp 67-79 (evangelistic work) pp 84 96 (education work) 99-118 258 263 (women's work) pp 120-126 (medical

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- * Russell N Village Work in India 1902 Illustrating Ch VI good throughout especially for evangelistic work For Ch VIII ch xv (India's need and how to meet it)
- * Scott T J Missionary Life Among the Villages in India 1886 Illustrating Ch VI throughout for the daily life in North India especially for Itineration
- * Sharrington M A and E Storrow The History of Protestant Missions in India from the Commencement to 1891 1894 Illustrating Ch V throughout but especially ch I for work in eighteenth century For Ch VIII ch xx (results twenty years ago)
- * Simpson A B Larger Outlets on Missionary Lands 1893 Illustrating Ch VI chs x xvi (methods and general conditions of work)
- * Suter T E The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity 1902 Illustrating Chs II IV throughout For Ch VII ch ii (present Hindu revival and modern Samajism)
- * Small A H Suvartha and Other Sketches of India Life 1904 Illustrating Ch VI good throughout for woman's work especially in Mohammedan sections
- * Smith G Bishop Heber 1895 Illustrating Ch V throughout
- * Smith G Henry Martyn Saint and Scholar no date Illustrating Ch V chs iv vii
- * Smith G Stephen Hislop 2nd edition 1889 Illustrating Ch. VI
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- *¹¹Speer R E Missions and Politics in Asia 1898 Illustrating Ch V pp 83-112
- *¹²Spiritual Awakening among India's Students 1896 Illustrating Ch VIII Part II especially pp 69-79 & 93-101
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- *¹⁴Stacy T H In the Path of Light Around the World 1893 Illustrating Chs V VI chs xi xii (Free Baptist work)
- *¹⁵Stewart R Life and Work in India 1896 Illustrating Ch I ch iv (climate) ch v (sanitary conditions) ch viii (roads and communications) For Ch III ch iii (British rule) ch xii (funerals and inhabitants of India in general) ch vi (domestic and social conditions) For Ch VI ch xiv (secular work) chs xv xix xxi xiii (evangelistic work) ch xiiii (higher training of Christians) chs xiv xv (higher training of Christians) ch xvi (self-support) ch xviii (self government of church) For Ch VII ch ix (obstruction and persecution) For Ch VIII ch xiv (of the)
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- *¹⁸Student Missionary Appeal The Address given at the Third International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions 1899-1904 Illustrating Chs VI VIII pp 3-223
- *¹⁹Student Missionary Fellowship The Addresses and Discussions of the Second International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions 1898 Illustrating Chs VI and VIII pp 270-293
- *²⁰Swami Vivekananda and His Court with Letters from Prominent Americans on the Alleged Progress of Vedantism in the United States 1893 Illustrating Chs IV and VII throughout
- *²¹Temple B India in 1880 1881 Illustrating Ch I ch ii (scenery) ch xvii (natural resources) ch xix (health and sanitation) ch xx (famines) For Ch III ch vi (natural progress of Hinduism) ch vii (moral and moral progress) ch viii (national education) ch xxi (learned research) chs x xiii (the crime taxes revenue) For Ch V ch ix (religious establishments and missions)
- *²²Sacred Books of the East Described and Examined III: d series 3 vols Various dates Illustrating Chs II and IV both ancient and modern Hinduism
- *²³Thoburn J M India and Malaysia 1892 Illustrating Ch I chs i ii iv For Ch III ch ii For Ch IV ch v ch vi (Hinduism) ch vii (Buddhism) ch viii (Mohammedanism) ch x (new religious movements) For Ch V chs xi xv For Ch VI ch xiv (mission schools) ch xiv (Sunday schools) chs xvi xix (woman's work including educational and medical)
- *²⁴Thoburn J M Light in the East 1891 Illustrating Ch VI throughout
- *²⁵Thompson B W and A N Johnson British Foreign Missions 1897-1898 Illustrating Ch V pp 24-43 (growth in India) For Ch VI: pp 123-136 (education) pp 147-153 (literature) pp 154-158 (medical missions) pp 158-203 (woman's work)
- Thomson W B A Memoir of William Jackson Fiske 1891 Illustrating Ch IV throughout for medical work
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- *Tisdall W St Clair India Its History Darkness and Dawn 1901 Illustrating Ch II pp 151 For Ch IV pp 52 63 (Hinduism) pp 66-6 (Buddhism) pp 1757 (Mohammedanism) For Ch V pp 88-119 Appendix II contains an excellent Indian Bibliography
- *Townsend M Asia and Europe 1901 Illustrating Ch III pp 265 277 (variety in society) pp 22-234 (abstemiousness) For Ch VIII pp 67 81 (criticism of Indian missions)
- *Trotter L J History of India from the Earliest Times to the Present Day 1889 Illustrating Ch II throughout
- *Tucker H W editor Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701 1892 1893. Illustrating Chs V VI pp 469 639 (excellent for work of the Society)
- *Warneck G Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Earliest to the Present Time Seventh edition 1901 Illustrating Ch V pp 218 266
- *Wayland F A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev Adoniram Judson D D 2 v 18 1853 Illustrating Ch IV vol 1 pp 138 153 vol II pp 407 419 (Buddhism in Burma) For Ch V throughout for Burma For Ch VI vol II ch IV (translational work) pp 445 458 (translation of Burmese tract) pp 502 518 (wayside preaching)
- *Wherry E M Zelnah the Punjabi 1895 Illustrating Ch VI throughout showing the effect of the Gospel on a Mohammedan widow
- *Williams M Monier Brahmanism and Hinduism 4th ed. 1891 Illustrating Ch II chs I II (Vedism Brahmanism) ch XIII (ancient family life) For Ch III ch XVIII (caste and occupations) For Ch IV throughout For Ch VII chs XIX XX (modern theism and reformers)
- *Williams M Monier Hinduism No date Illustrating Ch II chs I VII For Ch III ch XI (modern caste) For Ch IV ch I (medieval and modern sects) ch XII (modern idol worship etc)
- Wilson Mrs A Carlos A Woman's Life for Kashmir Irene Petrie 1901 Illustrating Ch VI throughout for women's work in Northern India
- *Wilson J Indian Caste 2 vols 1877 Illustrating Ch III throughout
- Wint's W J editor Dr J L Phillips Missionary to the Children of India 1898 Illustrating Ch VI throughout for Sunday school work
- *World Wide Evangelization the Urgent Business of the Church Fourth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement 1902 Illustrating Ch VI pp 489 494 (evangelistic work) pp 533-545 (education) For Ch VIII pp 89 93 353-379
- *Youngson J W F Forty Years of the Punjab Mission of the Church of Scotland 1855 1895 1896 Illustrating Ch I ch I For Ch III ch II (village system) ch VII (social customs) ch XVIII (Chimbera people) For Ch V ch XII (the Mutiny) For Ch VI chs XXI XXX (medical work) ch XXIII (schools) ch XXIV (casual preaching) chs XXV XXVI (Itinerant) ch XXII (woman's work)
- *Young R The Success of Christian Missions Testimonies to Their Beneficial Results 1890 Illustrating Ch VIII pp 71 151

APPENDIX B—Comparative Summary, 1851-1900

Taken from Protestant Missions in India Burma and Ceylon
Statistical Tables 1900

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1890	1900
Ordained Agents Foreign and Eurasian	339*	501	517	622	918	1049
Ordained Agents Asian	91*	143	30	575	943	905*
Catechists or Preachers Asian	493*	167	2344	2806	3987	6643
Organized Congregations Asian	267*	644	2631	4190	5490	6530
Communicants Asian	14661*	43415	3330	1,8254	715759	343906
Christian Community Asian	9109	198100	280997	407837	648943	98036
Sunday school Pupils Asian	.	.	.	65728	144763	201759
Theol and Training School Pupils Male	.	.	1561	1371	143	1816
College and Upper School Pupils Male	17491*	21676	40911	40990	65063	52597
Lower School Pupils Male	38661*	40164	6898	91047	132319	167645
Boarding School etc Boarders Male	188*	2798	.	.	.	1495
Female Agents Foreign and Eurasian	.	.	405	322	0	1307
Female Agents Asian	.	.	863	1714	3470	6965
Training School Pupils Female	.	.	55	.	.	719
Girls School Pupils	11193*	1035	20630	4361	73579	90752
Zenana Pupils	.	.	199*	913	37650*	37894*
Boarding School etc Boarders Female	2774*	4015	.	617	7004	13014

* No returns for Burma * R turns incomplete * No returns

APPENDIX C, PART I — Statistics of Protestant Missions in India — Distribution

B. This table is only approximately correct since several societies do not accurately locate workers and work

PROVINCES	Foreign mission societies				Native workers		Stations		Native converts		Educational				Medical					
	Ordained men	Missionaries	Other missionaries	Men	Women	Additional men and women	Where reside	Outstations or substations	Communicants	Adherents not communicants	Day schools	Pupils in same	Higher institutions	Students in same	Sunday school scholars	Foreign men physicians	Foreign women physicians	Hospitals or dispensaries	Patients during year reported	
Bengal	12	3	8	206	26	18	5	7	2467	644	65	5038	—	—	7193	3	2	4	90475	
	47	1	37	258	7	—	28	586	13028	22121	542	10031	10	019	14971	5	1	3	15338	
	2	2	6	3	4	—	2	1	53	173	6	110	1	—	15	2	—	1	—	
	2	2	2	42	16	—	1	—	91	559	19	24	1	—	2318	17	8	46	141800	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	832	71089	1285	47002	62	3493	23240	—	—	—	—	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	618	179	9	82	1	75	1593	8	9	30	148709	
	123	43	97	1204	670	74	117	484	27046	27378	734	39410	24	5163	31793	—	—	—	—	
	94	11	67	1004	516	—	40	763	46877	75841	578	18153	41	5094	17011	9	5	2	480	
	12	4	15	26	74	47	9	8	448	17	26	1621	2	270	3245	8	15	15	27718	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7359	6928	193	1272	9	557	12145	3	10	30	74072	
Central India	23	—	19	468	133	87	25	76	4513	9825	193	6482	5	673	6428	3	5	6	950	
	8	3	9	2	3	—	6	—	10	55	3	1092	1	17	—	3	1	1	551	
	402	76	32	7819	2140	670	260	3023	167634	330644	4382	153119	93	10773	64238	19	17	46	3703	
	23	1	18	513	94	—	18	4	197	372	145	1804	4	8	3929	—	—	1	8470	
	4	7	6	11	6	—	7	—	102	234	6	1206	—	—	—	7	3	2	22831	
	102	16	83	841	297	239	78	223	16193	2457	447	2404	17	1705	1270	12	30	43	270197	
	10	1	7	211	24	13	9	13	3322	1632	78	6210	—	—	647	4	—	3	34235	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	141	136	9	248	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	113	11	91	1860	1677	20	86	316	68138	33013	1270	33664	15	850	8351	6	25	17	77745	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Madagascar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
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* This column cannot be divided according to sex of workers owing to the indefiniteness of some reports

Distribution of Societies by Provinces and Native States

- Ajmere Merwara** — Methodist Episcopal Church United Free Church of Scotland World's Y W C A
- Assam** — American Baptist Missy Union Assam Frontier Pioneer Mission Gossner's Mission United Free Church of Scotland Welsh Calvinistic Methodists
- Baluchistan** — Church Missy Society Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Methodist Episcopal Church
- Baroda** — Methodist Episcopal Church
- Bangal** — Baptist Missy Society Baptist Union of W Australia Baptist Zenana Mission Bengal Evangelistic Mission Bengali Mission Bethel Santhal Mission British and For Bible Society Chinsurah and Hooghly Zen Mission Christian Missions (Brethren) Christian Woman's Bd of Missions Church Missy Society Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Church of Scotland For Mission Com Free Baptists Furreed pore Mission Gen'l Eldership Churches of God Gossner's Mission Indian Home Mission to the Santhals India Sunday School Union Inter national Com Y M C A London Missy Society Methodist Episcopal Church Missy Pence Assn New Zealand Baptists Oxford Mission to Calcutta Presbyterian Church of Eng Queensland Baptists Ranaghat Medical Mis sion Regions Beyond Missy Union Scandinavian Alliance Mission Seventh day Adventists Society for Propagation of the Gospel United Free Church of Scotland United Society of Christian Endeavor Victorian Baptists Wesleyan Methodist Missy Soc Woman's Union Missy Society World's Y W C A
- Benar** — Christian and Missy Alliance Free Methodists N A
- Burku and Cen'l Indian Hill Mission** Methodist Episcopal Church
- Bombay** — American Board of Foreign Missions American Seamen's Friend Soc British and For Bible Soc Christian and Missy Alliance Christian Literature Soc Christian Missions (Brethren) Church Missy Soc Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Church of Scotland For Mission Com Even Missy Soc in Basel German Baptist Brethren London Missy Soc Methodist Episcopal Church National Coun Y M C A Peniel Missy Soc Poona and Indian Village Mission Presbyterian Board of Missions Presbyterian Church in Ireland Society for Propagation of the Gospel United Free Church of Scotland Wesleyan Methodist Missy Soc World's Y W C A Zenana Bible and Medical Mission
- Burma** — American Baptist Missy Union British and For Bible Soc China Inland Mission Evan Luth Mission at Leipzig Methodist Episcopal Church Missy Pence Assn National Coun Y M C A Society for Propagation of the Gospel Wesleyan Methodist Missy Soc World's Y W C A
- Central India** — American Friends Bd of For Missions Friends For Mission Assn Presbyterian Church Canada World's Y W C A
- Central Provinces** — Balaghat Mission Baptist Missy Soc Chris tian Woman's Bd of Missions Church Missy Soc Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Evan National Soc Foreign Christian Missy Soc Friends for Mission Assn German Evan Synod of N America Burku and Cen'l Indian Hill Mission Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Bd Methodist Episcopal Church Pentecost Bands of the World Representative Ch Coun of the Epis Ch in Scotland United Free Church of Scotland United Original Secession Ch of Scotland Wesleyan Methodist Missy Soc World's Y W C A
- Coorg** — Evan Missy Soc in Basel (Coorg does not appear in the foregoing table as the work of this Society in the province could not be separated from its work in Madras)
- Haidarabad** — American Baptist Missy Union Church Missy Soc Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Methodist Episcopal Church United Free Church of Scotland Wesleyan Methodist Missy Soc World's Y W C A Zenana Bible and Medical Mission
- Kashmir** — Church Missy Soc Church of Eng Zenana Missy Soc Church of Scotland For Mission Com Moravian Missions Scandinavian Alliance Mission

Madras — American Advent Mission Soc American Baptist Miss Union American Board of For Missions Baptist Convention of Maritime Provs Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec Baptist Miss'y Soc Baptist Zenana Mission British and For Bible Soc Ceylon and India Genl Mission Christian Literature Soc Christian Missions (Brethren) Church Miss'y Soc Church of Eng Zenana Miss'y Soc Church of Scotland For Mission Com Danish Miss'y Soc Evan Luth Church, Genl Synod Evan Luth Mission at Leipzig Evan Miss'y Soc in Basel Genl Coun Evan Luth Church International Com Y M C A London Miss'y Soc Löwenthal's Mission Methodist Episcopal Church Miss'y Pence Assn Mission Institute at Hermannsburg Reformed Church in America Schwegel Holstein Evan Luth Mission Soc Society for Propagation of the Gospel South Arcot Highways and Hedges Mission Synod of Missouri Ohio and other States United Free Church of Scotland Wesleyan Methodist Miss'y Soc World's Y W C A Zenana Bible and Medical Mission

Myaore — American Advent Mission Soc Ceylon and India Genl Mission Christian Missions (Brethren) Church of Eng Zenana Miss'y Soc International Com Y M C A Methodist Episcopal Church Wesleyan Methodist Miss'y Soc World's Y W C A

Northwest Frontier Provinces — Church Miss'y Soc Church of Eng Zenana Miss'y Soc

Punjab — Baptist Miss'y Soc Baptist Zenana Mission British and For Bible Soc Church Miss'y Soc Church of Eng Zenana Miss'y Soc Church of Scotland For Mission Com International Com Y M C A Methodist Episcopal Church Moravian Missions N India School of Medicine for Christian Women Presbyterian Board of Missions Reformed Presbyterian Church N A Genl Synod Society for Propagation of the Gospel United Presbyterian Church N A World's Y W C A Zenana Bible and Medical Mission

Rajputana — Church Miss'y Soc Methodist Episcopal Church Presbyterian Board of Missions United Free Church of Scotland World's Y W C A

Sikkim — Church of Scotland For Mission Com

United Provinces — Baptist Miss'y Society Baptist Zenana Mission British and For Bible Soc Christian Women's Bd of Missions Church Miss'y Soc Edinburgh Medical Miss'y Soc Gossner's Mission International Com Y M C A London Miss'y Soc Methodist Episcopal Church Miss'y Pence Assn Presbyterian Board of Missions Reformed Episcopal Church Reformed Presbyterian Church N A Genl Synod Scandinavian Alliance Mission Society for Propagation of the Gospel Women's Lake Miss'y Soc World's Y W C A Zenana Bible and Medical Mission

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CONVERSION IN INDIA

A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY FOR INDIA
MADRAS ALLAHABAD CALCUTTA RANGOON COLOMBO

1920

INTRODUCTORY

"THE unit of physics is the atom, of biology the cell, of philosophy the man, of theology the Christian. The evidence for Christianity is the Christian. Our language is scientific justified by fact, when we speak of the work of the risen Christ and the contemporary activities of the Holy Ghost, the facts of regeneration, and the powers that are freeing men from sin. There is a great experiment which is repeated every day, the evidence for which is as accessible as for any fact of science, its phenomena are as explicable, or as inexplicable; its purpose is as clear. One aim of a scientific theology will be to study *conversion*, and restore to Christianity its most powerful witness

HENRY DRUMMOND

Since the day that Henry Drummond wrote the words quoted above, the subject of conversion has received a great deal of attention and investigation. It has been examined both by devout Christians and by others whose personal interest in religion is not so evident. And the reality of the experience is more widely acknowledged to day and more sympathetically accepted than it has ever been in the past. Its significance is no longer seriously questioned, and modern writers are ready as never before to recognize the tremendous influence it has upon all after life and experience. It is not only the incontestable fact that there is nothing like a good start

in life, moral life as well as physical, but the early joy and surprise and newness of spirit that accompany conversion give a tone and a vigour to life that is never altogether lost in subsequent years. This is true even where as is usually the case, the vivid experiences of the experience fade away.

Conversion as a subject for special study has not received up to the present much detailed attention in India for the simple reason that most Christian leaders in this land have been too busy and too much occupied to give the time required for the study, and moreover the field is so wide and the harvest in any one part still so small that generalization has seemed impracticable if not actually unwise. At the very outset we are met by the fact that Conversion as a definite phenomenon of Christian experience is seen less frequently in India than in the West. In every part of India, it is true, there occur from time to time striking cases of conversion equal in depth and momentousness to any known in other lands. These reproduce most of the features familiar to students of the subject elsewhere, and seem to be of the same general type. But apart from these extreme cases as Professor James terms them, there is a great dearth of any phenomena of conversion in the rank and file of the members of the Christian Church. An intellectual grasp of the doctrines of Christianity as presented by the local teachers a levelling up in measure to the accepted local standard of Christian living and a tacit belief that all is well with the soul appear to be the elements of religion in the

great majority. There are not lacking those who feel that this is explained by the natural constitution of the Indian temperament. They would say that its gregariousness and its natural tendency to fit in with its surroundings modify the response to the religious appeal so that instead of individual conversion we can only usually expect conversion in the mass. It may be that few would express it so baldly, but apart from verbal wrappings that may tend to make a theory less unacceptable such a characterization of conversion would satisfy not a few who are genuinely desirous of the Christianization of the land. The common experience of missionaries and Indian leaders alike is that there is seldom evolved in the hearers or catechumens, whether from the non-Christian or from the Christian communities, a due sense of sin, of personal shortcoming, of individual nakedness of soul. In some of the areas where people are found of several generations of Christian parentage it seems almost more difficult to produce a definite personal experience of sacrificial proportions than in the districts where the work is younger and chiefly among non Christians.

The problem that presses for solution is whether there are elements in the Indian character and nature that must modify our conception of conversion, or whether with a closer knowledge of that character and nature we could so change our methods of religious teaching that a more genuine sense of unworthiness and need might be produced and that a clearer emergence into the life of God might be experienced, carrying with it a greater break with habits that are unworthy of that

new relationship. Recognizing that temperament has a great deal to do with the character of the religious crisis, and that certain peculiarities of emotional sensibility make their possessors the best subjects for sudden and striking conversion, is there anything inherent in the prevailing Indian temperament that will be likely to produce striking differences between his religious experience and that of the average Western Christian? To solve such a problem the empirical method must be followed, and light and leading be gradually gathered from the testimony of the fast-increasing Indian Church. There are now within the pale of Protestantism in the Indian Empire close upon two million souls, among whom there must be a very considerable number of thoughtful individuals whose religious experiences have been sufficiently definite to allow of study and generalization.

In any such study two subsidiary facts have to be borne in mind. The Christians of India belong to a variety of races—Aryan, Dravidian, Mongolian and Arabic, along with others of less importance, and while there may be accepted for general purposes an Oriental type, an Indian type, there must still be sufficient variations in those who have come from the different parts of the Empire to cause some inequality in the relation of the results obtained.

And again, the work accomplished in India has been done by workers of various Western Churches who show a natural inclination to reproduce especially among the young of their own communities here, methods that are in vogue among their churches in the West. Some

denominations emphasize the fact of sin and the need of repentance and salvation and place the insistence upon a more or less definite and sudden experience of conversion. Others recognize the likelihood of the spontaneous awakening at the beginning of adolescence, and have used some rite such as that of confirmation to symbolize the entrance into the new life. Others again show no special expectation of a crisis and have no ceremony to bring it about or mark it but appear to expect a gradual development of the young people who have been for so long a time under their care. With some one aspect of the experience has received emphasis and with others a different though perhaps equally important aspect has been predominant.

In this matter we must all be pragmatists. The facts are there already—the work of the Spirit of God upon a myriad lives apparent in a variety of experiences. These facts await classification and interpretation. The fact is more than the explanation; yet the explanation is necessary to due interpretation. The study represented by this volume has been principally an attempt at gathering facts concerning conversion in India in sufficient numbers and of adequate value to enable the underlying causes to be grasped so that from the personal experiences of a multitude of diverse individuals drawn from as wide a field as possible general principles may be recognized. The explanations given by the persons quoted may be faulty and poorly expressed, they may insist unduly on minor and non-essential elements but they have a value notwithstanding. The

new life is felt within and its results are recognized gratefully and even enthusiastically, though it may be true that, at first the personal interpretation of it is largely occupied with the contrasts between the old life and the new.

The aim has been severely practical. It is by no means an attempt at a psychological explanation of conversion. That has been done by others far better qualified for the task. It is merely the investigation of these cases of conversion in India in the light of the knowledge gained by thorough students of the phenomenon in other lands, in the hope that something may be contributed thereby to the subject of religious education in Indian missions. The methods of such education ought to be determined by the ascertained facts concerning conversion and the beginnings of the spiritual life among Indian peoples.

There has been no endeavour to make exhaustive interpretations or deductions from the facts garnered. It was felt that any contribution that such a study might bring would be more useful if the facts were presented as they are, simply grouped in ways that would enable others to draw their own conclusions. A few practical suggestions immediately arising out of the study have been reserved for the concluding section.

The method employed has been largely determined by the circumstances of the case. The material for study has been drawn from two chief sources. The first of these is the biographical and autobiographical literature of Indian Christians. This

unfortunately, is meagre. There have been during the past two centuries a considerable number of Lives or biographical sketches published, but many of these have been in the vernaculars only, and most of them, whether in a vernacular or English, have been produced in small editions which are soon exhausted and are seldom reprinted. And again, since these biographies are usually written near the end of a man's life or after his death, the amount of detail that is preserved concerning the early religious experiences brings disappointment to the student whose interest lies chiefly in that period of the life. A number of these shorter biographies have been saved from oblivion by the Christian Literature Society in *Sketches of Indian Christians*. A few others exist still in booklet form, though the value of some is lessened for our purpose by the general tone of their information or by the evident polemic object with which they were written. Altogether fifty or sixty printed biographical sketches, longer or shorter, have been secured for the purposes of comparison. Of these there are about one-half autobiographical in character, personal testimony, and evidence therefore of the greatest value.

Use has also been made in one section of a few non-Christian biographies where a clear religious experience is related that is somewhat analogous to Christian conversion. The chief object in quoting these here is to show that conversion as a mental phenomenon is as likely to be violent and striking in India as in the West, even where it has not been the result of the efforts of missionaries whose teaching

might be thought to be suggestive of experiences that are Western in form

The second source of information is testimony gathered directly from Indian Christians. The bulk of this material consists of replies to the Questionnaire which is given in Appendix I at the end of this volume. This document has been explained personally to a great number of men and women in the course of visits paid to missions in all parts of the Indian Empire and promises of full replies were received from very many. The questions are such that most who have had a personal experience of Christ should be able to answer more or less completely.

But a considerable amount of disappointment and failure has to be admitted. It was imagined that with almost unique opportunities of meeting and becoming acquainted with Indian Christians it would be a simple matter to secure a very large number of replies to the questions. For two years no pains have been spared in writing, explaining and persuading, but the result has been comparatively small. Out of at least two thousand promises many of them direct and personal scarcely three hundred have been fulfilled and a large proportion of these only by dint of continued importunity!

An evident reason and one peculiarly germane to the subject under investigation is that the average Indian Christian's personal experience is largely devoid of marked crises. This as has been remarked already may to some extent be explained, but the fact remains that in spite of an acquaintance with Indians and missionaries

living in hundreds of centres replies have only been secured from a comparatively small number of individuals. In many cases it was affirmed that it seemed impossible to focus the points in the long, upward path that led to faith, and while the majority of those who have corresponded or conversed on the matter are sure that they have attained to the place of personal relationship with the living Christ, they are equally confident that they cannot tell how they got there. That this is a weakness in Indian Christianity will be evident, and that it is a weakness that may to some extent be remedied in coming days will be felt by all who have had to deal in matters spiritual with our Indian youth.

The replies received, however are from a wide and representative selection of people as may be seen from the analysis¹. They are largely from educated men and women as these have naturally found it easiest to express themselves, but a number are from those who are unacquainted with English. The proportion of the latter would have been greater but for the fact that all Indian vernaculars, even those with the largest vocabularies are deficient in niceties of language where the feelings are concerned, and would be answerers have been deterred by the extreme difficulty of adequately expressing themselves or even of sufficiently grasping the meaning of the questions. The very word 'feeling', for instance, is one almost impossible to translate in any part of India.

Sincere gratitude is felt to those who have replied to the Questionnaire, and there is the consolation of knowing

¹ See Appendix II at end of volume

that this apparently small number of replies represents a great deal for India. There is one regret. It is that so many opportunities have been missed of securing replies to the questions in personal conversation, under the mistaken idea that the answers would be more satisfactory when the questions were considered in private. As it is, a number of the most satisfactory sets of replies have been obtained latterly in this fashion. It was felt necessary to go thus into detail since the natural criticism may arise, as it has done in the cases of more favoured investigators in America, that the number of replies is insufficient for wide generalization.

It has been possible to supplement the replies to the Questionnaire by the results of various other minor investigations, especially on the lines of the age of conversion, the heroes of youth, and the motives that led to the acceptance of Christ.

We are working here in dark and difficult country where forest lies heavy and vantage points are few. Nor will the most thorough investigation, even in the last analysis, fully explain the mysterious though orderly methods of God's Holy Spirit working on the human soul. All that we can hope is that by a purely inductive study, taking the bare records of religious experiences and roughly grouping them, analysing, classifying, generalizing and interpreting them, to try and see more clearly the processes at work in the spiritual life.

A great debt is acknowledged to Professor E. D. Arbutnot whose volume on *The Psychology of Religion* supplied the incentive for this study, and whose Question-

naire suggested the method. His form of tabular statement has been borrowed the more readily in that it makes comparison easy with his results which are so widely known. Among other sources of help mention is gladly made of G. Jackson's volume on *The Fact of Conversion*, and the debt to the Christian Literature Society for the collection of narratives already alluded to. Especial thanks are due to Mrs. Outram of Lillingstone Dayrell, for her kindness in allowing use to be made of some material gathered for her concerning conversion in India.

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PART I

BIOGRAPHICAL RECORDS

TWO STRIKING CASES

THESE biographical records comprise fifty or more published accounts of conversion, and with them are included two or three narratives that came in with the replies to the Questionnaire. They are mostly written by those who have entered the fold of Christianity from Hinduism, Muhammadanism and Buddhism, some of whom have slowly and even painfully found their way thither through reform movements, and in one or two cases through agnosticism and atheism. Two only of the whole number are from Christian families. They are in the main exceptional and outstanding cases, experiences marked by unusual stress. They are not typical of the average Indian Christian, but perhaps because of that they have a peculiar and especial value. 'Soberer examples,' says Professor James, 'may be the average, but they do not yield us the profounder information, for that we must go to the extremest examples.'

Some at least of them have been written for apologetic or polemic purposes, for in very few cases in the East have we those private diaries of personal experience that have been of such value to students of religion in the West. There is, in some cases, therefore, an evident *motive* showing through, but seldom can this be said to seriously lessen the usefulness of the 'testimony' for purposes of investigation.

The most attractive method of presenting the information contained in them is that of allowing each person to tell the

story of his own conversion in full in his own way. But the length and occasionally the diffuseness of the accounts made this course impracticable and instead there have been extracted from the mass of testimony leading lines of experience that tend to throw light on the general subject of this volume.

The plan has been adhered to however of letting the writers speak for themselves as far as possible reserving any enquiry into the comparative value and relationship of their statements to later chapters when they will be considered along with the records obtained through the Questionnaire.

The charm however of the fully told story is such that two cases have been retained for entire quotation and these may stand as examples of the others that are treated analytically.

The narrative of Bajū Nath's experiences¹ thrills with pathos and adventure. He was a Kshatriya by caste and was born in Northern Rajputana. He early lost his father and becoming dissatisfied with agricultural life went away to a shrine in the west and attached himself to a *guru* who was followed by many in all parts of India. Here he lived with an uncle in great ease for this *guru* possessed riches, villages, even forts and an army of his own. But the youth grew dissatisfied with the worldliness and indolence, and set out to visit other shrines. Unrest deepened, he says, as he went from shrine to shrine hoping to find out how he could attain union with his Creator and cleansing from sin. It was all in vain. His soul turned in disgust from the lifeless ritual and he found at each shrine that the priests were just money-seekers—a revolting exhibition of cupidity displayed by the *pujaris* who pounced on the pilgrims like vultures on a carcase. Hearing of some who had obtained satisfaction at other shrines he went farther and farther afield to Bombay, Poona, Kanara, Rameswaram, Puri, Gunga Sagar and Calcutta.

¹ As given in an account printed in 1903.

He says, 'I had been so miserably disappointed at every shrine that I was very despondent,' and he then imagined that, as this was the age of Kali, it was because he had not visited her shrines, and so went to Kalighat. 'That utter darkness filled my soul I, alas, knew only too well. All was dark in me, I longed for communion with God, but could find no way to it. Was I doomed to die without having even one ray of light or hope? Then I was horrified to find that my very nature was so depraved that notwithstanding that such awful thoughts crowded on my mind, the paltry allurements of this world, and of life as lived in it, would draw my mind away from these higher thoughts.

'It was early in the morning but the decapitation of the goats at Kalighat was in full operation. What a shock it was to me! My whole nature arose in disgust at that scene. The horrid, nauseating, foul smell of blood that polluted the atmosphere made it almost impossible for me to breathe, and filled me with loathing. Such a crowd! and what dreadful expressions on their faces, what vile, obscene language from their lips, and this was the worship of Kali! . . . Nevertheless I forced I did violence to my very soul, and went and worshipped her for three days. What was the result? A very different one from what I had expected. I found there was an actual struggle going on within me, as day by day my will overpowered the abhorrence of my nature to such a worship, to such a deity. I realized that I was being drawn under an influence which my soul abhorred. Like one waking from a hideous nightmare, I flung this influence from me! I would not worship her! I might be her victim, I could never be her devotee! I had been longing for the fulness of a life of acceptance by the author of my life, here the only worship was a hideous worship of death!

'My condition now was truly miserable. All my spiritual aspirations, all my hopes, had been shattered. I saw no further opening now in any direction whence light could come to me, and I saw with horror that all that remained to me was to allow myself to be drawn into a darkness that was more hideous than that in which I was already immersed. . .

'I was now in a state of dark, apathetic indifference, caring little where I went' He then determined to visit Budh Gaya and other noted places, but came first to Deoghar. He noticed that his fellow pilgrims, many *sadhus* among them, had no such consciousness of sin as troubled him, 'so, of course, they had no desire for deliverance from its power. All their hopes in this pilgrimage were limited to paltry worldly considerations.' Here his last money was spent and he wandered aimlessly up a street, begging for food. Some one told him of a mission bungalow near by where they fed a number of boys. With no definite object he walked there.

He was told there that food was not distributed, but that God's gift of a free salvation in Jesus Christ was offered to all. This spiritual food was more important to him than bodily food. Something in these words 'touched a chord in my heart,' he says, 'and I freely entered into conversation with the aged missionary who met me.' He listened with deep interest to a long explanation of Christianity and of God's love and Christ's sacrifice.

'Before even the gentleman could explain the result that must follow in man's heart through his belief, I saw by the wondrous light of this supernatural conception of love, that there indeed one could with the joy of his whole being cry out, "Not my will, O God, but Thine be done"' He stayed on, and they sang to him while he sat in an ecstasy.

'What a wondrous conception of God,' he continues, 'was here unfolded to me in this same great love. What a

contrast to the manifestation in Kali¹ in Mahadeo¹. In all my previous aspirations for a union with my Creator, I had never been able to rise to the conception of such a love. The thought that for such a worthless sinner as myself, Jesus, my own Creator, should have poured out His life blood on the Cross, so utterly transcended anything that man could possibly imagine, that I saw it had been revealed by God Himself to man. I saw that not only this world but the whole universe contained nothing better for man than this belief in the wondrous love of God for me, as manifested in Christ Jesus. So I believed.

Shown that for his future he must implicitly trust himself to Christ, he was afresh overjoyed. 'How my heart rejoiced as my mind took in the position that henceforth this body of mine was to belong absolutely to Jesus¹ to be His altogether! So I then and there cut from this body that was now His, the *kuntha* of my *guru* which I had worn round my neck, with the several *mallahs* of the false gods I had worshipped, and, with my caste considerations, threw them away from me for ever.

'The gentleman then asked me to pray, but I knew not what prayer was. So he prayed for me. I had never heard such a prayer as his¹. All that I had ever known of worship was the reciting of *shastras*, but little understood, and the singing of *bhajanas* filled with aphorisms or proverbs. But any such thing as a personal talk with God as I heard this gentleman pour out in adoration was a revelation to me. Till now I had not known anything of a personal God near to man.'

Chun Lal lived in the Punjab and his account¹ gives a most interesting picture of the inner history of a seeker after peace who found his way to Christ through a curious form of

¹ Published in the *Punjab Mission News*, by the Rev. A. W. Haumann.

mystical deism 'Even as a child,' he says, 'I conceived a great aversion to the idolatry practised by my family and relations, especially to the bowing down before Jagan Mata the patron goddess, represented by a brick wrapped up most carefully in a cloth I objected also to most of the ridiculous rites and superstitious ceremonies observed on the day of my marriage I was educated in a government school at Ferozepore and Lahore Having to leave the latter on account of bad health, I returned to Ferozepore to my parents, and was there employed for about three years as a clerk About this time my religious life sank to a very low ebb, and I was not much better than an infidel I lived for myself alone and was governed and led by selfish and wicked motives only Yet there were occasions when my conscience reproved me, and I felt that I could not go on any longer as I was, but must do something to improve my moral character and condition I began to read books of the Kabir sect, but without the desired result I took up the books of the Arya Samajists, but found them also void of truth I could not understand how the Vedas could be called the word of God, and afterwards got exceedingly disgusted with the immoralities taught in their *Satyarth Prakash* In a journal of a so called Hindu reformer, I found some allusions to the Brahmo Samaj My intellect found some satisfaction at last in the perusal of a monthly paper edited by Pandit Shiva Narayan Agnihotri The pandit had been a drawing master in the government school at Lahore, and a Brahmo lay missionary, but later on he became a Brahmo Sanyasi

'I became desirous of joining the Brahmos and applied for admission to the Brahmo Sadbaran College in Calcutta but was refused for want of funds I became now more and more convinced of the evils of the caste system, and put away of my own accord the top knot of hair, so sacred to the Hindu

The consequence was immediate persecution from my friends and relatives. In my distress I sought counsel and comfort from Pandit Agnihotri, mentioning in my letter that I had renounced caste. The Pandit in reply expressed disapproval of this hasty action, but at the same time encouraged me to bear my persecutions patiently and to hold out bravely.

As there were no Brahmos at the time in my town to whom I could go for instruction I went to Lahore and was initiated into the Brahmo doctrines by the above-named Pandit, the Brahmo Gamahel of the Punjab. A moral change for the better came over me. Although I did not know yet how to pray, but used written prayers, a kind of negative peace entered my heart. My parents in the meantime had heard of me, and sent the family priest to bring me home again, but in vain. Then my brother came and told me a long story about my wife (which afterwards proved to be a pure fabrication) and induced me to leave my new *guru* and to return to my parents. My reception at my home was not anything like that of the prodigal son. Lamentations, woes and weeping, scolding and threats followed each other. I resumed my work at the law courts, however, and for several months I discharged my duties there conscientiously, especially desisting from taking bribes. This did not suit my relatives in the least as my earnings were considerably less than formerly. Temptation, however, became too strong, and after a time I fell a victim to this bane.

Though as yet unacquainted with the word of God I noticed the secret of the poison by a sudden hardening of the heart, which caused me compunction and sorrow. I confided in a friend who advised me to attend the anniversary meetings of the Brahmos in the pandit's sanctuary. At a private prayer meeting, at which members seated on little mats of sacred Kush-grass, leopard-skins and a piece of red

broad cloth, were pouring forth their *mantras* and extempore prayers, I noticed a young girl who wept and prayed most actively. I attempted to offer up a prayer for the forgiveness of my sins, but, hearing the sobbing and sighing of the girl I broke down and wept like a child. In the evening the pandit preached a sermon in the Brahmo Mandir to an audience of about two hundred persons. After the service this same girl came out from behind the screen and in a prayer publicly confessed her sins to God, and was enrolled as a member of the Samaj. I then stood forth and made the following confession: "From henceforth I will not live unto myself, but unto God and the welfare of His creatures, and should I have even to give up my life I am quite ready to surrender it in the service of God."

'For several days I experienced a great restlessness within in consequence of which I had no peace day or night. Three days later as I was sitting and listening to the prayer of Agnihotri in his "sanctuary", silently meditating on the awful greatness and the majesty of the great Father God, I felt as if the gloom and darkness of my soul passed away. A sudden stream of light entered and filled me with light and joy. My heart was so full of ecstasy that, entirely forgetting the solemn surroundings, I burst out in a loud expression of joy. I thought I heard a voice saying to me, "If thou wilt give up all then I will make thee My own." I offered up a brief prayer and asked God to give me a similar joy on the day when I should be ordained to the life of a Brahmo devotee. The next day I returned to my home and announced my determination to give up my livelihood and become a *sanyasi*. My relatives were bitterly disappointed and tried means fair and foul to dissuade me from the step. Force was used. My father threatened to commit suicide, my wife attacked and maltreated me. I was neither allowed to pass in the house

nor to leave it. Even the boys in the streets abused me whenever they caught sight of me. My reply to it all was, "You may kill me but I cannot withdraw from my solemn promise to serve God."

I was allowed to return to Lahore in company with my wife who attacked the pandit with strong language, claiming five hundred rupees from him for having seduced her husband. However the Brahmo leader soon got rid of her, by assuring her that he was far from engaging her husband as a servant, for that he was not worthy of the honour of being a preacher being yet entirely under the influence of his wife! Upon this her wrath alighted again on my head. On our return to Ferozepore I was locked up for three days in the house and I only escaped on the pretence of again taking up my duties at the courts. I joined Agnihotri at Lahore but became so conscience stricken with the thought of having lied to my relatives that I cried and wept aloud in the presence of my guru. For days I could feel no rest but gradually my feelings calmed down and I fancied that I had more of God's peace in my heart.

For about three years I lived in the house of Agnihotri who treated me with great kindness supplied me with clothes and made me as one of the family. Occasionally I would visit Ferozepore and other places and give religious lectures on various subjects. Some of my hearers treated me with kindness and consideration but here and there I met also with fierce opposition and bad treatment. The reading of some tracts of the Salvationists roused a strong desire in me to spend my life as an evangelist in turning my fellow countrymen from sin to God. I had my heart's desire and with another Brahmo I was publicly set apart as a Brahmo preacher by the Pandit. I received a new name Brahmo Das, the servant of God. We donned the ochre coloured garb of the ascetic,

a garland of flowers was stuck in front of my turban after the fashion of the Salvation Army, and we each received a mendicant's drinking cup and a doe's skin on which to perform our devotions. I had been yearning to see this day, but to my great disappointment my heart felt empty and cold after the ceremony which last nearly four hours. Towards the close of the service the congregation got so excited that they began throwing flowers on us amidst shouts of 'Jai, Brahma! Hail, Thou Merciful One!' Pandit Agnihotri himself grew so jubilant that, notwithstanding his corpulence, he rose from his seat and jumped and danced about, flicking all the while with his fingers to the great amusement of the public.

I now went about preaching and lecturing at many places. But although I had longed to do this work the conviction grew stronger and stronger within me that I was not in my proper place. At last there came a day when Agnihotri held a special service in his sanctuary. At this he declared his secession from the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and dubbed his association with the new name of Devn Samaj (The Divine Religion).

From that time I began to have doubts about the pandit. I could not help noticing that a great many of his innovations were merely adaptations from the Salvation Army. I could get no satisfaction on the supreme themes of true repentance, forgiveness of sins, restitution and atonement. I sought therefore, for more information on these subjects in the publications of the Salvationists and of other Christian writers, and had a great desire to read the Bible. My wife now joined me at Lahore and I requested a missionary lady to teach her and to lead her to something better. I was greatly pleased when on the first occasion on which I saw this lady she offered me a Bible without my having asked for it and I was also greatly struck with the ready sympathy

and kindness with which she received and treated me I said to myself, "How great must the love of Christ be if even His followers can show such sympathy." In reading the New Testament I was surprised to find that it threw light on all the subjects on which I was seeking help. After reading Dr. Bonar's *Person of Christ*, which the lady lent to me, my faith in Brahmoism was greatly shaken and I felt drawn towards Christ. In a letter to her I thus expressed this, "By reading parts of the Bible and of the *Person of Christ* I have been very much benefited, and Christ has now taken the highest place in my heart. My prayer now is by day and night, 'O Christ, pour Thy Spirit into me.' By reading these books and learning from Jesus Christ I have received great benefit, so much so that I am sure if instead of these books you had given me a kingdom of the world I should have gained nothing." Once I ventured to say to Agnihotri, "I think that after all Christ may really be divine." In reply the pandit angrily struck the table with his fist and cried out, "Is it possible that a man who has been three years under my training should conceive such a vain idea?"

Finding no sympathy from my associates I sought refuge in prayer, and my internal struggles and anguish of soul were so intense that my health began to give way. Death seemed preferable to life, and I asked God sometimes to take me away, from this world. Occasionally there was a lull in the storm. In attending the lectures of the Y.M.C.A. I would hear a word in season or get a tract which I valued so much and read so carefully that the pandit used to get quite vexed with me wondering how I could appreciate those "Scraps of the Christians" more than the valuable books of the Deva Samaj. The life of the Lord Jesus Christ and the acts of His apostles impressed me so much that I often prayed that my work and preaching might be similarly blessed and

honoured "O Christ, do Thou make me Thy disciple, ' was a prayer which I now frequently uttered on my way to from or work. One evening when returning with a fellow preacher from my work, being near the Badshah Mosque of Lahore, I felt as if some strong power on a sudden filled my soul with a great joy. I felt convinced that Christ had accepted me as a disciple. I was so overcome with joy that I could not refrain from embracing my fellow preacher, at the same time praising Christ for His great mercy to me. The desire to follow Christ was now the uppermost thought with me. I went to the Pandit with my resignation, but after many pleadings and reasonings on his part I was persuaded to wait and to go away home for a change of air and perhaps a change of mind.

'I visited a place about this time where there was a Christian congregation and there I met with some Christian converts. I was favourably impressed with them and also spoke a few words giving testimony to the great value I put on the Word of God. Returning to Lahore I again promised to remain faithful to the Samaj, but my heart was sad and dry. In this state of indecision and halting between two opinions I asked God to help me to decide one way or the other. My health got worse, and I had again to return to Ferozepore. I prayed, struggled, wrestled day by day, but no light came to my soul. In my despair I prayed to God (and entered the prayer in my diary at the time) "If by the thirtieth of this month I find no certainty what to do and how to decide, I shall destroy my body. O God, with Thee it is not impossible to show me which way I have to turn. If the way of Christ be the true one, and there I may spend my life to greater advantage, then point its virtues to me in such a manner that I may be struck with them, and thus be put to the necessity of casting myself at the feet of Christ. On the fourteenth of that month I wrote out my resignation of the connexion

with the Deva Samaj, but did not send it to the pandit at once. A day or two after this I went to see my father who lived in a village not far off and who was very ill. Having read in the *Imitation of Christ* "the word of our Lord, Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath he cannot be my disciple," it occurred to me that I had not made a whole hearted surrender to God of all that I loved and prized in the world. Amidst a clump of trees, out in the open country, I stood and poured out my heart to Him in fervent prayer, asking Him with tears that He would decide the matter for me. That very night I got a firm assurance that I ought to receive and follow Christ. The next day I sent off my resignation to the pandit. Having done this my heart felt free as if eased of a great burden. My joy increased day by day and by spiritual intercourse and scriptural instruction I found what I had sought and struggled for during four years, that peace which is real and lasting, that life which Christ alone can give.

It was suggested that he should cut himself and so draw the attention of the god.

'He thought, however, that though more hazardous it might be a wiser course to punish the god than to torture himself. With this view he procured from the bazaar a piece of iron some inches long and had it well pointed at one end. Again he went to the temple and attended to his accustomed devotions. He carefully watched his opportunity and when free from observation he began to revile the god (not an uncommon trick). This was fruitless. His goad then which he had concealed under his cloth was brought into play, and he gave the idol several sharp thrusts, after which he again reverently (!) presented his prayer that in a dream or vision the god would reveal his glory. There was no result, and the next morning he departed and never returned to the celebrated shrine as an idolater.'

In a wealthy Punjab home, the little child M¹—was much impressed by the devoutness with which his family worshipped the idols. He felt awe and fear and a sense of unworthiness when he came to the family shrine. 'One morning,' he writes, 'when my mother as usual placed the food before the idols, she rang a tiny bell and sang something, closing her eyes. Afterwards I said to her "Why do you close your eyes when the food is placed before the gods?" "Don't you know, my child," she replied, "the gods creep up to the side of the dish and taste the food and thus hallow it, and afterwards we all take a little out of it." "But," she added, "if we keep our eyes open the gods will not come to the food." I thought how grand and wonderful it would be to see the brass idols, dressed up as men and women, three or four inches high, walking up to the dish to take little morsels. So I pretended to shut my eyes and put my hands over my face,

¹ From a tract *A Living Witness* Ludhiana, 1902

but just kept a corner of my eye open with my finger slightly apart to see the fun. But no, there was no movement what ever and the tiny figures sat as still as ever. My faith was completely shaken in the gods, and I became so emboldened that I used to handle them, in the absence of my mother, of course¹

R—K—Banerji, once a high caste Brahmin, says

'I used to worship the family gods regularly in order to be blessed worldly and spiritually. I remember once that when I commenced to bathe them in the absence of my father and older brother I saw numbers of ants coming out of the mouth of the Saliq Ram, the principal family god. That shook my faith in Hinduism.'²

Atul K. Nag says, 'I was born of Hindu parents. In my childhood I used to worship the gods and goddesses and pray to them for relief from my little troubles and difficulties. I remember that in order to get success in the Entrance Examinations I used to carry about my person every day some charms, such as leaves of the *tulsi* plant, etc. A little later when my faith in Hinduism was somewhat shaken, I recollect one day kicking a *tulsi* plant kept in our house, in order to show my relatives that I had no faith in its sanctity. They were shocked and wanted me to repent, and thus to avert any calamities that might follow. But I did nothing of the sort though I was rather uneasy on account of what I had done, as my faith in the sacredness of the plant was not quite dead.'²

Vague Unrest

with the popular forms and methods of religion and with their own inner condition is expressed by several as the precursor to conversion

would secure heaven. But even the life of an ascetic failed to satisfy his soul.'

Thefts of jewels from the family shrine by two Brahmin priests shocked his enquiring mind, and he gave up attendance at temples in spite of the importunities of his mother and his friends. The death of a young girl in the family awakened anxiety as to his own future which his further study of philosophy failed to allay. For four years he continued in this unhappy state until he came into touch with the missionaries.

The record of B. C. Chatterjee¹ is not unlike the preceding. 'From a very early period of my life,' he says, 'religion occupied my mind and on it I set a higher value than anything else. When a boy I shed tears many a time while reading or hearing pathetic parts of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Once I remember dipping myself in water after having touched a Mussalman. After I was invested with the sacred thread, I began to perform many of the Hindu ceremonies, which are not always observed even by the orthodox Brahmans. I fasted twice every month on the eleventh day of the moon, performed my *Sandhya* (the Brahman's prayer) with much amplification, stood on one leg to repeat the *Gayatri* twenty eight times, and never took cooked sweetmeats from the bazaar. But as I advanced in the study of the English language, these superstitious notions began gradually to vanish away.'

In many cases this vague unrest deepened into

A Sense of Sinfulness

that with some led to the brink of despair.

'I bought from a Christian colporteur,' writes B. B. Roy, 'a number of Christian tracts. When I read them, I was filled with horror at the consciousness of a wicked and sinful life.'

G C Dass, the Krishna worshipper alluded to above, adds his testimony. I began to think more of the cloud of sins that hid my Father's face from me. I became restless and filled with sorrow for disobeying such a good, kind and loving Father, and I determined to obey Him and perform good works that would outweigh all the evil I had done. I tried my utmost, but utterly failed to keep God in my mind even for a few minutes, my thoughts went so easily astray. My sense of sin deepened. I felt that sin was not a small matter as it aimed directly against the authority of God and so justice demanded my punishment. Brahmos said Repentance is an adequate punishment for sin, but I felt this inadequate. I felt God could not receive me without atonement. God's holiness could not dwell with my darkness and unholiness.

H D M,¹ though a seeker, was for a long time far from realizing his need.

'I was greatly offended with the Christians,' he says, 'because they tried to convince me of my very sinfulness. I was conceited and thought myself sinless having a strong moral character and being earnest at finding the truth, and was a Brahman of the highest order.

'All on a sudden the Indian missionary that came with the European missionary called over to my place and advised to pray to God to guide me to Truth. I prayed—and right earnestly too—that I might be given light and I received the answer in various ways too many to enumerate here. I became convinced that the greatest sinner that ever lived was I and Christ Jesus only could effect my salvation.

Another from the same part of India, Guru Charan Bose² writes 'My faith in Hinduism was shaken, it failed to satisfy my spiritual cravings. I felt myself a great sinner my sinful propensities were very powerful, they got the

¹ Questionnaire

² C L S

better of reason and conscience, I had no control over them. I stood in absolute need of power from God to effect the purification of my heart, the government of my passions, and the communion of my soul with Him. I found that I had not the power of performing good works. "When I would do good, evil was present with me."

Ramachandra Jachuck,¹ a devoted disciple of a Telugu guru, had read some Christian tracts. The immediate effect of his reading was that he received a deep and awful sense of sin. To use his own expressive language, 'I was baptized in a sea of trouble and often cried in anguish, "Oh, that I had never been born!"' He sometimes reproached himself for reading the tracts as by that means he had learnt his state as a sinner, and had found that the wages of sin is death. 'Oh, that I had died in ignorance,' he said, 'for then should I have had no guilt. I may be called into Eternity to day, and if it be so, hell will be my portion. Months of mental agony passed in this state, and to add to his distress, his forgotten sins of former years were remembered, and were as a frightful spectre to his soul. He wept and trembled at the thought of a judgment to come.'

Imad'ud-Din¹ was a Muhammadan of royal lineage and of pious ancestors. He was educated as a moulvi and has left a lengthy record, the history of his twenty years of struggle towards the light. He became a preacher and a fakir, and he was initiated into the secret mysteries of the Sufis. But through it all he was unhappy and ill at ease. Though he lectured against Christianity regularly, he found no rest in Islam. He was utterly perplexed by reading the Muhammadan authors in his search for truth.

'In the midst of my thoughts,' he wrote, 'my only comfort was in engaging in more constant acts of worship. I retired

sense of the need of a Saviour was, perhaps, in some ways intensified '.

More striking still is the testimony of G. C. Dass, 'I felt I had no hope of deliverance ; it was dense darkness all around, and I was in despair. Then I seemed to hear the words of Christ whispered to me, "Come unto Me and I will give you rest." The Christians also told me that Jesus Christ, the incarnation of God, was the Saviour of sinners. I thought that in Hinduism there were ten incarnations, surely among the ten I would find one was a Saviour, so I read again very carefully the accounts of these incarnations, but I could not find that one had descended from heaven to save men from their sins. These incarnations had all appeared to save certain men from the tyranny of powerful kings or demons. Hinduism said, "Take the name of these incarnations and you will be saved," but I felt it was useless as they never professed to be saviours. I turned to Christ and found that He had offered Himself as an atonement for my sins and He plainly said, "He that believeth in Me hath everlasting life" '.

Mingled in the testimonies with this desire for a Saviour is the realization of

The Attraction of Christ

and this is referred to by many. With some it is His words, with others His actions, but with most it is His winsome Personality that drew them on.

Mozir'ud-Din Ahmad, born a Muhammadan, says, 'The story of Christ's life naturally made me draw a contrast between the Qur'anic teaching and that of the New Testament. . . . The more I studied the New Testament, the more I became absorbed with the transcendent character of Christ '.

into my private chamber, and with many tears I prayed for the pardon of my sins. I often went and spent half the night in silence at the tomb of Shah Abul Ala. I used to take my petitions to the shrine of Calendar Bo Ali, and to the threshold of the saint Nizam'ud Din, and often to the graves of the elders.

The entrance of Christian teaching, the collision with Jesus Christ, means an entrance into internecine war. The soul is no longer at rest after the first presentation of Christianity. There may be reactions and retreats, a desire to stifle truth, but there is no standing still. Two influences are at work and these are contrary the one to the other, and the way by which the soul comes into rest is a way of pain.

Altruistic motives are rarely mentioned in these records, but personal and self regarding motives are abundant. The most frequently expressed of these is the

Desire for a Saviour

I found out,' says Guru Chiran Bose,¹ 'that Christianity was the only religion that suited my condition as a helpless sinner. Its wonderful plan of salvation through a crucified Saviour, who by His precious death, on the cross satisfied divine mercy and justice, made a great impression on my mind. The doctrine of vicarious atonement made by Him produced a deep impression on me.

Siraj'ud Din,² who, as a Muhammadan college student was a seeker after light for many years, tells of his moral vision being clouded by procrastination in his search and a consequent falling into sin. Speaking of this, he says, 'It played havoc with the life of communion and fellowship. But the

sense of the need of a Saviour was perhaps in some ways intensified

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us his early impressions of Christ as he read the New Testament 'At first I was very much struck with the life of Christ. My compassion was so called forth, that I very well remember crying when I came to read of His sufferings and of His prayer on behalf of His enemies. I then began to compare the life of Christ, in my own mind, with as much as I knew of Hinduism, to see whether this religion gives any example like that. I found none.

Lal Behari Day,¹ who very gently came into Christianity from Hinduism, has an interesting passage in this connexion 'The name of Jesus,' he says, 'was associated in my mind with everything that is holy, good and virtuous, so that in point of fact I do not remember at this moment any day in my past life when I was an alien from the commonwealth of Israel, and lived without God, without Christ, without hope in this world, if any day I vilified the name of Jesus. In my worst days—days of daring impiety and godlessness—I had a respect for the religion of Jesus. That was owing, I believe, to the early saturation of my mind with its blessed principles.

A very remarkable case is that of Hakim Singh a Sikh and the only pity is that we have not the record in his own words. He was a grain merchant of considerable wealth and his friend, another Sikh, was engaged in doing some contract work on the Canal. This friend was taken suddenly ill and died, but before he died he gave Hakim Singh a Gospel and a book which among other things gave great prominence to the Second Coming of Christ. As he gave these books the dying man said, 'These are what I believe and I die in that faith. Read them.'

Hakim Singh, read the books and was so convinced of them that he returned home, sold his grain and stores and

distributed to the poor, handed over his affairs and property to his wife and his sons, and donning the garb of a fakir sat in his backyard in meditation. He had also acquired the fakir's trick of so moving his internal organs that on his bare stomach they appeared to run around like rats chasing each other! Crowds came to see him and were much impressed by what they saw. And they were still more impressed by what they heard, for he spoke with great earnestness to them of Christ. Especially he often referred to the Second Coming, alluding to shooting stars and earthquakes as signs of His speedy return, and to reinforce his points, even quoting *slokas* from the Sikh sacred books which spoke of a similar incarnation. Disciples gathered round him and worshipped him as Christ, though he never authorized this. In course of years over 300 people were united to his loosely held company. He preached that there is no caste and that all, Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans and outcastes are the same. A disciple would read the Bible and he himself would accompany it with bodily contortions and groanings. This ignorant Christianity held its own for years simply by the attraction of Jesus Christ.

The way that led to peace was not, with many of these whose histories we are considering, a straight road. Unwilling to face the difficulties attendant on a clean break with the past there was for a longer or shorter time with most of them a

Search for Rest in their own Religion

B. B. Roy has a graphic picture of his seeking. 'One day as I was sitting by a solitary road and pondering over my miserable life, I saw a *sannyasi* passing by me. I thought, 'Perhaps this man would be free from temptation. So, after a few clothes dyed yellow with earth and leaving my friend's house, I became a *sannyasi*. I determined

not to return to the world till I had overcome all my sins and evil propensities

'Constant starvation and exposure to all sorts of weather reduced my body to a living skeleton. After a few months' travels I came to Haridwar and then proceeded to a place called Rishikesh, famous for *sadhus* and *sanyasis*. My intention was to stay there and practice *yoga* to attain the final beatitude, but a strange event took place which entirely changed my purpose.

'The rainy season had already set in. The jungle path was muddy and at places full of water. So when I reached Rishikesh I was almost covered with mud. Leaving my things in a resthouse, I was going to bring water from the Ganges when I smelt a bad odour. As I turned round, I saw a dead body on the street rotting in the mud. Around the corpse were the huts of the *sanyasis*, who were performing *tap-jap* almost the whole day, but none of them had even enough of compassion to dispose of the body of the poor man who had died helpless on their street. I thought, if this is religion, then what is irreligion? My spirit revolted against these *sadhus*. I perceived in my heart of hearts that *vagsadhan* cannot create that love in man which makes a man feel for a fellow man. Where there is no such love, there can be no religion from God. So I gave up the idea of becoming a *yogi* and left the next day for the interior of the Himalayas.'

Another Hindu, G. C. Dass, says, 'I was a strict follower of Krishna. I faithfully repeated 108 times each morning and evening the names of Radha and Krishna. Sometimes I wrote the names before beginning my daily study. I found great pleasure in reading *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, the stories of *Prahlad*, *Dhruva* and the tales in connexion with the birth and life of Krishna. I used to get

up early to gather flowers and *tulsi* leaves for the worship of Krishna. I firmly believed him to be the Saviour, and that by his grace only could his worshippers go to *Vaikunta* (heaven).

Baba Padmanji, a Sudra,¹ awakened to religious consciousness by the teaching in a mission school, tried to satisfy himself with the worship of the Hindu deities.

'My faith in the Hindu religion, says he, 'was not shaken. On the contrary my fondness for its rites and ceremonies increased for there was much in them to gratify my vanity and love of pleasure. After a while my mind became discontented. The numerous religious observances which I followed did not satisfy me. I longed for something higher and aspired after miraculous powers. I obtained *mantras* or incantations which were supposed to give superhuman power, but I did not attain my object. These incantations are nothing but a hodge podge of Marathi Sanskrit and newly coined words the attempts of vulgar cheats to delude simple minded people. I prayed to Maruthi the monkey god for success in my studies. I was fond of books and read many on the Hindu religion.

Muhammadian converts have much the same story to tell. Siraj ud Din, stirred by the Christian teaching in a large Mission College attempted for a while to find satisfaction in Islam. I started saying Muhammadian prayers five times a day he writes. 'Since I could understand Arabic I knew what I was asking and also made ample use of personal prayer in the vernacular at the time of the canonical prayer. I felt as though the spirit and the ideal which actuated my life were Christian while the method of praying was Muhammadian. This prayer life was so all absorbing that I was often unconscious of the world around me while praying. My heart was early won by the attraction of

Christ's personality and character and my leanings were more in favour of Christ, yet the idea of separation was most heart rending

Imad ud Din had spent years trying to pacify his hungry soul with Muhammadan ceremonies and teachings. But he remained unsatisfied. Then he heard of the mystical teaching of the Sufis and felt that in their secret science of religion he would attain the inner peace he longed for.

'As soon as I was entangled in this subtle science, his record runs, I began to practise speaking little eating little, living apart from men, afflicting my body and keeping awake at nights. I used to spend whole nights in reading the Quran. I put in practice all the various special penances and devotions that were enjoined. I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking by thinking on the name of God to write it on my heart. I constantly sat on the graves of holy men in hopes that by contemplation I might receive some revelation from the tombs. I went and sat in the assemblies of the elders and hoped to receive grace by gazing with great faith on the faces of Sufis. I used to go even to the dreamy and intoxicated fanatics in the hope of thus obtaining union with God. And I did all this besides performing my prayers five times a day and also the prayer in the night, and that in the early morning and at dawn, and always I was repeating the salutation of Muhammad, and the confession of faith. In short, whatever afflictions or pain it is in the power of man to endure, I submitted to them all, and suffered them to the last degree, but nothing became manifest to me after all, except that it was all deceit.

Some of those who were uneasy at heart found for a time

A Half way House in Reform Movements

that have sprung up over the land during the last century

worship of idols and joined a debating club, the members of which professed themselves to be theists, and who in their meetings freely discussed theological subjects. Like the Brahmos of the present day, they believed in one God, but ignored a written revelation. Their teachings aimed at moral, social and intellectual improvements in Hindu society, but they were bitterly opposed to the Bible and the Christian religion, of which they had vague and hazy ideas. They cared very little about the invisible realities of the unseen world which the Bible reveals. There were sometimes very warm discussions in the club, but in nine cases out of ten the members hopelessly differed from each other. They believed in the existence of God, but maintained, like the Agnostics of modern Europe, that He is unknown and unknowable. My mind was at this time in a very unsettled state so far as religion was concerned. I had very little peace of mind. I believed in a personal God, that he was a hearer and answerer of our prayers, therefore I prayed to Him day and night to lead me to the truth.

THE VICTORY

The road with some was long and devious, the gradient steep and discouragements many, but, whether straight or winding, comparatively easy or full of obstacles, it led eventually to rest and peace. Occasionally there are instances of

Sudden Conversion

P Venkayya¹ is an example of this. He had been uneasy over his spiritual condition for some time and had prayed blindly to the unknown God for light. Hearing that Christian *gurus* who spoke about salvation sometimes attended a great festival at Bezawada, he came thither twenty eight miles on foot in the vague hope of receiving assistance. 'Wearied with the journey he sat down on the bank of the river in which thousands were bathing. He was thinking to himself, "This water cannot cleanse from sin", when a priest accosted him with the words, "Are you not going to perform your ablutions?" and offered to repeat the necessary *mantras* for a consideration. "No, sir," answered Venkayya. "Do I need to bathe here? The water is so fouled by the multitudes of people who are plunging into it and stirring up the mud, that it is not capable of cleansing the filth from my body, how can it possibly wash away my sins?" The priest asked in astonishment, "Are you a Christian?" "No," replied "Venkayya, but I want to be one." Afraid of being overheard, the priest whispered, "I will tell you of one who will make you a Christian. Go to the Christian *guru* who lives in yonder house on the hill, he will tell you how to become a Christian", and passed on.

'When Venkayya heard this, he said to his friends, "Come, let us go at once," and forthwith they found their way to the bungalow. While they waited outside, he silently lifted up his heart to God with the prayer, "O Great God, the Saviour, show us this *guru*."

'When the missionary asked in a kindly manner who they were, Venkayya, with outspread arms, came forward saying, "O *guru*, tell us about the true God, the Saviour of whom you know." The missionary then told the story of Jesus and His love in dying for sinners. When he ceased, Venkayya rose to his feet and with much emotion crossed his hands on his bosom, looked up and said "This is my God, my Saviour. I have long been seeking Him, now I have found Him. I will serve Him."

With most, however, there has been

A Gradual Dawning of the Light

From a few days to many years the twilight had lasted, but the light had been growing stronger until at last the sun was well above the horizon.

A young man born in a Christian family,¹ and educated in a Christian college, had grown very sceptical about religion and had fallen into open sin before conversion.

'I decided,' says he, 'at the age of twenty six to serve Christ. It was a gradual conversion. I was first influenced by some of the lives of (Christian) saints, and then after internal conflict which continued for some time, and especially after reading the *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, I decided once for all to follow Christ.'

Ramabai, one of India's women after a long experience

through Hinduism and Reform movements, found her way into the light of the Gospel. She had in her experience become conscious of God's guidance and her spirit was possessed of the unrest which is the solemn movement of the soul. Godward. 'I gradually learned, she says, 'to feel the truth of Christianity, and to see that it is a philosophy, teaching truths higher than I had ever known in all our systems, to see that it gives not only precepts but a perfect example, that it does not give us precepts and example only, but assures us of Divine grace by which we can follow the example.'

'I began to be convinced says Hari Ramachandra Kibisti¹ that there could be only one God. Although my faith in idolatry was shaken I still worshipped idols for fear of my friends. Through study and talks with the missionaries, by the great mercy of God I became convinced that the Christian Shrasta was the true one. I prayed that God would give me strength to come through all the trials that must be faced. After a time I was enabled to give up idol worship.

'In a tour through the district I saw many mendicant Brahmins and had discussions with them. My eyes were opened and I was convinced of the folly and deceit practised by them and of the utter uselessness of pilgrimages and bathings to take away sin. My intercourse with the missionaries on the other hand strengthened my faith more and more in the Christian religion. I duly studied the Bible and was convinced that I should have no peace of mind until I had obeyed its command.

Imad ud Din, a Muhammadan who has been quoted before, and who spent many long and weary years searching in Islam for rest, thus found the way at last.

'I had believed Christianity to be untrue, and had been a vehement opponent of it, but experience had shown me something of the state of Muhammadans. I therefore became convinced in my own mind that all religions were but vain fables, and for six years my mind remained afflicted with these vain thoughts. I reasoned on them in such a way that at last I put my trust in them.

'Then I heard of the conversion of my greatest friend, and this greatly amazed me for he was a stout Muhammadan. For some days I wandered about speaking harshly of him, but gradually I remembered that he was a true and a just man. I then thought that I ought to begin to dispute with him by letter about it and I determined that I would do so without unfairness and bigotry. With this object I procured the Old and New Testaments and copies of various controversial Muhammadan books, and I asked a missionary to kindly read the New Testament with me, and explain it that I might investigate its truth. When I had read as far as the seventh chapter of Matthew doubts fixed themselves in my mind respecting the truth of Muhammadanism. I became so agitated that I spent whole days and often whole nights in reading and considering the book. Within a year I had investigated the whole matter chiefly at nights and I discovered that Muhammadanism is not of God and that salvation is assuredly to be found in the Christian religion.

Zabadust Khan¹ belonged to an Afghan tribe but was born in northern India. Along with his brother he attended a mission school, being instructed in the Bible by a Muhammadan teacher who had a good knowledge of that book. The elder brother was baptized.

'I gladly witnessed the ceremony, says Zabadust Khan,

'but returned home with great anxiety. My Muhammadan friends praised me highly for not joining my brother. I did not like the praise because the Holy Spirit had commenced showing me that I was a sinner and the way of salvation. I accordingly separated myself from the society of these men quietly.

'There was a struggle going on in my heart against conscience, and I had no rest. As the small amount of scholarship which I was drawing was in no way sufficient for my daily expenses I was obliged to serve a junior Nawab as an English teacher, and in the meantime I married. The spiritual light still kept working in me, and I prayed to God to show me what to do. I went to a lonely field where no human being was present and with tears I lifted up my hands towards heaven and asked help and instruction from the Almighty.

'Thank God the fear and the shame departed and I boldly asserted that I would embrace my Lord. The Nawab with whom I was employed, on hearing of my intention, offered Rs. 1,070, a free house and Rs. 10 as monthly allowance if I would remain a Muhammadan. On my refusing the above offer he was set up by his associates to dismiss me, which he did not do. As I worked for him from 4 to 9 p.m. I occasionally offered my evening prayer in his garden under a tree. One evening the Nawab quietly followed me and was pleased at hearing my prayer. On his return he told his friends that he did not see any cause for my dismissal, and ordered his slave to bring a china plate and a glass tumbler for me, and before commencing his dinner filled my plate out of his own dish and allowed me to offer grace.'

Mathura Nath Bose,¹ full of hate against Christians, attended one Sunday morning a class of young Brahmos

'Keshub Chunder Sen presided, and read from a book, the words of which seemed to impart life to my spirit. While the book was being read my soul danced for joy on hearing the gracious words which it contained.'

He made enquiries as to the author of the book and found out that it was Ram Mohun Roy. With considerable difficulty he secured a copy.

'I got the precious treasure, says he, 'and came home with a heart full of hope, and set at once to read it. I took a hasty breakfast to save time, that I might feast on the heavenly manna sweeter than honey it seemed to my taste. From morning till twilight I read it sitting in my room; and when there was no light there I came out, and spreading the book towards the west, caught the little light I could, and read on. A friend who came in pointed out to me that Ram Mohun Roy was not the author of the book, but only its compiler, and that everything in it was to be found in the Bible.

'From that day I began to read the Bible, and found it meat indeed for my hungry soul. Here I found a true remedy for the melancholy which had taken possession of my soul, and blessed be the God of the Bible, the gloom has never since returned. Whenever I felt sad I read these precepts of our blessed Lord, and found relief, and if these did not completely deliver me, the reading the accounts of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ was sure to do so.

'At this time, however, it was not clear to me that Jesus was the Son of God. I believed that the Bible contained the truth, but I was not prepared to believe that Jesus of Nazareth is the Supreme Being Himself, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. Then I read various Christian books, such as Butler's *Analogy*, Paley's *Evidences*, and especially Bushnell's *Character of Jesus*. I became quite convinced that He is the Son of God, and that He suffered for the

salvation of sinners of whom I was a chief one. I began to worship Him, and to pray in His name. I was no longer under a sense of condemnation. I believed in Christ and felt secure in His arms.'

The last instance of gradual dawning of the light is one that may be quoted a little more fully.

N—D—¹ was born in the north of India in a clan that is one of the registered criminal classes of India. Their development is exceedingly slow, and their profession is thieving.

'When I was a little boy,' he writes, 'we used to worship an idol whose name is Mahla Bhadu. We had, however, many other idols, such as Googa, Sakhi-Lardar, Lala Warlada, etc. I went to a primary school in my village, but I could not understand anything religious. Afterwards I went away to a school and here I was able to understand something about religion. But the arrangements for religious instruction were not good, and I got into bad ways. I began to steal, and once I stole two water melons and was beaten severely for it. I next went away to the boarding school at S—, and there I learnt what Christianity really is, and that religion is something important and God too. While I was here my parents came and tried to take away my brother and me, but Dr. C. drove them from the compound. My brother was very sad at being at school and eventually ran away home.

'While I was here I was much influenced by the life of Jesus, and especially that He was above human nature impressed me very much.

'After some time I returned home and nearly six years were spent by me in tending my cattle. And I used to teach my friends who also watched the cattle with me. They could

After this he stood on both his legs. He asked me whether I believed in Christ so as to stand on one leg or two legs. From this example I turned a new leaf in my life from that moment. I prayed to God to give me the everlasting peace. At four in the morning the thought of smoking came into my mind as usual. I thought in myself, "Is smoking more dear to me than Jesus, that I waste my time in smoking daily before I read the Scriptures?" That day I quit smoking altogether, though I was a great smoker. In the evening the Holy Ghost compelled me to agree to several things. After this I was quite contented.

Intense Feeling

in many cases follows the crisis. This is frequently expressed in terms of relief or of joyfulness, according to the previous experience of the writer. Thus G. C. Dass gives his testimony.

'I dared not disbelieve Him, so I simply bowed to Him and accepted Him as my Saviour. No sooner had I done this, pouring out my soul to God asking Him to pardon my sins, then I felt a great relief, the heavy burden of my sins rolled away, and peace took possession of my soul.'

Baba Padmanji speaks in similar terms.

'At last I resolved, said he, 'to accept my Saviour at once. Then I found peace and rest. I felt as if the load of sin and sorrow that oppressed me had suddenly dropped, and unspeakable joy filled my heart.'

'I cast off the world from my soul,' writes Mathura Nath Bose, 'and consecrated my life to the service of my blessed Master. The countenance of my Saviour shone upon me, joy and peace and love filled my soul. The Sun arose in my soul with healing in His wings, and I felt that in Christ's conscious presence there is fulness of joy. The light of His

countenance did enlighten and enliven my soul; the whole day I feasted upoo heavenly joys Heaven opened upon my sight, and I seemed to be in the midst of its shining inhabitants Whole days and months I passed in the greatest comfort imaginable

'In my inmost soul I sang my Saviour's praises, nor were my lips silent I sang alone and I sang in company with others My peace flowed like a river, for I lived in the presence of the Prince of Peace I found God indeed to be a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him, that religion is not an empty name, and that there is joy in the service of God'

B C Chatterji wandered through the mazes of Unitarianism before he found his way into the Christian fold 'Oh, the wonderful mercy of God,' says he, 'that has dragged this vile wretch from the den of idolatry and sin in such a wonderful manner, through the labyrinths of so many intricate ways, to the saving knowledge of light and truth! Oh, the breadth, the depth the length and the height of the love of Christ!'

Abnormal Accompaniments

of conversion are sometimes mentioned or special circumstances that brought on a crisis in the religious life These are, however, less frequent and less abnormal than might be expected from such emotional races There is really in these records very little of those curious phenomena that are frequently met with in records of conversion in the West, Wonderful visions and voices that leave a deep impression on the mind are only found in one or two cases Dreams that impel to action are rather less uncommon

'Then I fell asleep,' says S T G, at that time a Muhammadan, 'just where I was on my prayer mat and, in my sleep, a light shone and I saw a man who was wearing a long, white

karta, and he embraced me and said, "I am St John, and the writer of the book you are reading—whatever is written in it is true, and the words have been spoken by Christ Himself, and He has sent me to you that, having revealed myself to you, you may have satisfaction and belief." I answered him, "I believe and I accept." I awoke feeling very happy, and from that day I resolved to seek and find Him.

P—B—M—¹ had a dream the night after he accepted Christ. 'That night,' says he, 'I had in a dream a long vision which was allegorical and indicated my future life to me, and which is being gradually unfolded to me as it is realized in my life. I felt as if something was pressing on my eyes until it was over.'

One very interesting case tells how a dream had exactly the opposite effect, in that it gave a set back to the intention to accept Christ. 'I came to realize in conversation with a friend,' writes K. C. Banurji, 'that there is no other name under heaven whereby we can be saved. I decided, therefore, to discard the sacred thread, and immediately did so, laying it on the table. As I sat meditating I fell asleep and in a dream saw my mother standing before me with her forehead all cut and bleeding, where in anguish she had wounded herself with a stone. She implored me to put on my thread again. Upon awaking I felt so miserable that I yielded to the temptation, took the thread again, and did actually put it on again and wore it for six months longer.'

Several speak of the effect upon their progress towards conversion of some circumstance, unusual though not abnormal. As with Gautama Buddha it was the sight of a dead man that drove him to serious reflection and renunciation, so it was with Siraj'ud-Din.

¹ Questionnaire

² Printed account

'On one occasion,' says he, 'when the struggle was at its height, I absented myself from college for three days, shut myself up in a room and spent most of the time in prayer and weeping. I desired and expected God to come to me visibly and make His will known regarding His eternal truth. No materially visible sign was given. But on the morning, probably of the third day, a funeral passed through the street under the window of my room and the professional mourners were singing a Persian verse which means, "Be not forgetful of eternal life, for you will not have a second chance to live this precious life again." I closed this period of special meditation with increased conviction that I should stand up for my belief.'

K C Mookerjee¹ was attending a Christian college and was considerably influenced by the religious teaching given there. His parents in alarm took him away.

'Some months after, in his testimony,' when one of my neighbours was sick, with whom I was acquainted, I went to pay him a visit on his sick bed. I saw him in his last hours. Then after a while I witnessed his death with my own eyes. I was much affected by it. Then I began to think about my own death, punishment and reward after death—hell and eternity presented themselves to my eyes.'

Rama Varma, the Cochin prince, had a similar experience. 'When He was sixteen,' wrote his biographer, 'his *upanayanam* or thread wearing ceremony was performed. This ceremony and the death immediately afterwards of a young girl in the family made him think seriously of his future state.'

He became acquainted with Christian missionaries, and studied the New Testament with great carefulness. It was

another unusual circumstance that brought him to the point of decision

'The fear of the world,' the record continues, 'checked the growth of a desire to confess Christ, and he contented himself with being a Christian at heart. But he was once on his way home from Cochin where he had gone for a few days of recess, when a severe storm threatened to capsize the boat in which he was sailing. After setting foot once more on land, which he more than once in the night gave up hopes of treading again, the first thing he did was to express his desire to be baptized.'

It was a like circumstance that induced Hormazdji Pestonji, one of the few Parsee converts to come to a decision for Christ. The early death of his mother had awakened him to the realities of the eternal world, and unanswered prayers when he returned from the Tower of Silence to a motherless home caused him to distrust the god he had been brought up to believe in. Teaching at school heightened the distrust, and his heart turned towards Christianity. The climax came suddenly.

'One day, when the sea flowed between Colaba and the Fort, he went, as was his wont, to swim to an opposite sandbank, intending there to rest awhile and then swim back. Sighting the sandbank he started thither, but before he had reached it the rising tide had hidden it from view, and he found no foothold whereon to rest before attempting the return journey. His strength began to fail and his heart to quake, as the memory of his past life in a moment came before him. His sins, ridicule and opposition to the Saviour came so vividly before him that he felt lost indeed. Then before his mind came the hitherto forgotten words of the missionary, "Him that cometh unto Me I will in wise cast out." "Why should I not come?" was the question of his sinking heart.

"I will—I do trust Jesus' And he did then as a drowning man cast himself upon the Saviour of the lost, and joy unspeakable filled his heart At this moment he was seen from the shore, and when about to sink from exhaustion he was rescued "The Lord hath saved me, not only from the sea of waters, but also from the sea of sin," was his joyful confession to his companions when they questioned him regarding his fearful experience in the water'

There is one great and noteworthy exception to the general statement that abnormal accompaniments to conversion are relatively infrequent in India as revealed in published records The exception is

The remarkable revival wave

that spread over India rather more than ten years ago It came at the time of the Welsh Revival and began in the Welsh Mission in the Khasi Hills in the north east of India.

Most abnormal and unusual experiences are recorded during that time, many of them very similar to those told of in Wales. There were brilliant lights, heavenly voices and visions of wonderful meaning In some places the results were frankly disappointing, but in many cases evidences of a real change of heart and life were seen A few cases are given here, all from them Khasi Hills and adjoining districts

'At Nongkhasen a prodigal who had been excommunicated from the Church and had wandered very far from God came to the service and had a wonderful vision, he said that two angels took hold of his hands, a black angel (Satan) took his left hand and a beautiful white angel took the right Satan said "Believe me", but the bandsome, bright angel said, "Believe in Jesus Christ," and he obeyed the good angel'

'Another instance from the same place is given A young man who had been a prodigal for years and had led a very evil

life, was suddenly convicted of sin one night. He felt that he was taken to the gates of hell and shown the wicked in agony and he screamed in terror. The angel who led him told him that unless he repented that he would suffer like these. He was then led to the walls of the New Jerusalem which were beautiful beyond description and the music and the singing so captivated him that he begged of his guide to be allowed to stay there for ever. His guide told him that if he were obedient to the will of Jesus Christ he would some day be allowed to enter there. This vision has so affected him that his life has been completely changed. He is never tired of speaking to others of Jesus and he has already visited several of the adjacent villages to preach the gospel.

'Many others had visions and some were so terrified when they saw their sins that they fainted others danced for joy that their sins were forgiven.

'In another very small Church one of the Christians said that he had no hope that the Spirit would come to such a small Church as theirs but just a week after he had said these words, when he was conducting the opening service of the Sunday school, the Spirit came upon him with power and he fell to the ground and was unconscious for two hours.

From Cherrapoongee 'We had a meeting last night that was passing wonderful. Some dancing in their new born joy in the assurance of sins forgiven, almost beside themselves with joy. Others who had a new view of their own sinfulness were in terrible anguish their words were enough to make our hearts bleed but after hours of excruciating anguish what a joy to find peace oh, they looked so subdued.'

One man said there he saw our Saviour about a fortnight ago. He came to him spoke to him stroked his forehead and put a mark on it and He told him that He would come to him again. This made a profound impression on the man,

and he is now terribly in earnest. Some time after he reported that God had visited him a second time and marked him again on the forehead and told him to continue steadfast in the work.'

'One young man realized his own perilous position having never accepted Christ, though a professing Christian he had never opened his heart to the Saviour. He felt as if the scourge of God was falling upon him, so terrible and real was it that he seemed to hear the swish of the scourge, he tried to run away from the meeting, but he was rivetted to the seat, and in great agony he cried for mercy and as he prayed the scourging ceased and he had a great peace.'

'Another young man, a very irreverent youth, felt great terror, the light jocular way in which he had often handled the holy words and things of God appeared to him now in their true light and a great fear and trembling seized him; he felt as if some unseen hand was twisting him, and for days he was unable to leave his bed and now that he is about again he has become a thoughtful, earnest man.'

Most of the cases were of professing Christians the following was from the ranks of devil-worshippers.

'The other day when one brother was praying the Spirit spoke with such power to an egg breaker (one of the leading demon-worshippers) that he fell to the ground, but he refused to obey God, then he fell a second time and again he refused to obey, and he said he had to go and sacrifice some goats that he had purchased for the demons. Then the Spirit spoke again the third time and said that unless he would obey at once that he would be struck again, then the man with fear and trembling confessed his sin and accepted Jesus Christ as his Saviour.'

One phenomenon that occurs with frequency among the records is what might be termed

Double Conversion

that is, a double experience of which the latter part may be divided by many years from the former, but which is usually very much deeper and more inward. This is related to though not exactly the equivalent of the double experience known among western Christians and spoken of as Conversion and Sanctification, or the First and Second Blessing. To appreciate it we have to remember two or three general facts. First, with regard to those who approach Christianity from the non-Christian faiths there is an intellectual conviction involved which with a very honest hearted man may necessitate a change of outward relations before the heart is truly won by the deeper personal appeal of Christ. That is, there may be a conversion to Christianity before the true conversion to Christ comes.

And again with such people the new attitude to Christianity is accompanied by mental unsettlement occasioned by the tremendous upheaval in all of life's relationships. Then those brought under strong Christian influence within the Christian Church are frequently children or young people at the emotional age when they are very easily acted upon by pressure from without, and in some cases are brought to a decision that may be superficial and premature. Thus it is true that conversion is seldom a matter of unmixed motives in India, as elsewhere, and the really spiritual motive is not always the dominant one.

Because of these things the phenomenon of double conversion is not at all uncommon, and there is often a measure of doubt in the testimonies as to which experience

to apply the term 'conversion'. Some examples will indicate the bearing of this

R. K. Banerji, a Brahmin convert, after describing his decision to become a Christian, tells of his baptism. 'But', he says, 'it was only outward, and it was a year later that God opened my black heart and poured His Holy Spirit within me. In the meantime I had remained satisfied with John's baptism'

'After I had come to believe,' says M. N. Bose, 'I felt a strong desire to obey God in everything, but the cross seemed too heavy for my little strength. To cast off all, and to be cast off by all those who were bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, seemed a difficult task. At the same time, wilfully to neglect to confess Christ before men was sinful. Besides, for a Christian to live in a Hindu home was not agreeable, for everything was connected with idolatry, and if he would keep himself from idols he must maintain a constant warfare

'For more than two years I hesitated before I openly confessed Christ before men. I waited and waited until I found it impossible to wait any longer for the Lord heard my prayer and drew me out. At length I came out, was baptized, and became a member of the visible Church, and had peace in my soul, but my peace was not as a river. The love of the world was still in my heart, and as I loved God with one half of my heart and the world with the other half, I had but a poor taste of the hidden manna. Blessed be God, by one disappointment after another He won me from the world, till I cast it off from my soul and consecrated my life to the service of the Blessed Master. Joy and peace filled me then

M—¹ after seven years of uncertainty made up his mind to be baptized. He went to a town forty miles away for the purpose, but his friends knew of it and followed him there. They

assaulted the missionary who was about to administer the rite, and carried M. off. A terrible day followed, but within twenty-four hours, bruised and with his arm in a sling he was baptized.

'I am now extremely sorry,' says he, 'to relate that a few months after my baptism I began to regret that I had become a Christian. This was because I saw in a certain native Christian things I am ashamed to mention. I thought of my poor Hindu wife, chaste and devoted to me and was ready to give up my faith for her sake. I was by no means blameless in my own life. . . Step by step I yielded to my relations who were trying hard to make me a Hindu again. They took me to Hardwar and performed all manner of purification on me. But I was most unhappy in those days. I could not, dare not, read the Bible. . . . I was so unhappy I almost made up my mind to commit suicide. While in this awful state of mind, one day when I was about to drive out, a heavy sorrow took hold of my heart and a voice whispered to me, "To-morrow or never." I began to shudder and all at once uttered a cry, "Yes, Lord, to-morrow." The next day he went to the Church and confessed his backsliding and received true and lasting peace of mind.

V—¹ was fifteen years of age when the great famine came in his part of India. He had attended a mission school for seven years, and had been influenced at least intellectually in favour of Christianity during that time. When the famine grew very severe his parents died and his three brothers and sisters were taken care of by the mission. Eventually he was induced to join them, and became a teacher in a mission school. From that time for a year or more he sat under the preaching of various missionaries and Indians, but was

especially influenced by one preacher who was very insistent on the fate of the unregenerate and preached frequently on hell.

'This terrified me,' says V 'and when I was sixteen years of age I sought refuge in Christ and was baptized. But for the next seventeen years I had little rest or peace. At first I thought that I could never again fall into sin because I had professed Christ and had been baptized. But I soon found this out to be a mistake, for I fell repeatedly into the most serious sin, and thus I became a prey to doubt. However, I went to high school, and expressed my willingness to be trained for the ministry, and was sent to the theological seminary. I felt no drawing to this work, however, and accepted the position of translator to one of the missionaries who was engaged in literary effort. I spent some time working with him on a commentary.

'This deepened my sense of need, which I had been conscious of for a considerable time. In fact, I was uneasy in my soul for the space of ten or twelve years, and the constant mention in the commentary of Christian peace and joy awakened a deep longing in my heart. I knew that these were not mine, and that my experience was a very chequered one.

'It was in my thirty-third year that I attended a watchnight service held in English at the Baptist chapel in Bangalore, and heard three soldiers giving their testimony to their conversion and Christian experience. This brought me to a crisis. I went home and approached God in earnest prayer, and after some hours of heartfelt intercession for myself I found peace. Immediately I felt unable to continue in my translating, and went home to my native town where I told what wonderful things God had done for me.

H—D—M—¹ was converted from Hinduism when he was

twenty-six years of age. Concerning this experience he says, 'I prayed earnestly to God for light, and I became convinced that that I was the greatest sinner that ever lived and that Christ Jesus alone could effect my salvation. I came to see how foul I was. I was convinced that I needed regeneration; and Christ drew me graciously on to Himself.'

His chief sin before this had been self-confidence and pride. And this seems to have persisted even after his conversion and baptism.

'I continued in this state,' he goes on, 'for some time when after some years one of my beloved children fell ill. I believed that if I prayed he would recover. I prayed, therefore, night and day, but my child was taken from me. This was a terrible shock to my faith, and I became an agnostic. But though I left my Heavenly Father, He did not leave me, and a struggle began similar to that I had experienced before my conversion. I emerged from it a broken man, very unlike my former confident and proud self. I bent low at the feet of Jesus and prayed fervently that I might be forgiven and led once more in the true path. Like a flash the answer came to me, "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also." Then I knew that He had taken my child in order to draw me to Himself. I was changed a second time and I glorify His name that He has never left me since.'

Arnold Weerasooriya¹ was born a Buddhist, and from his birth was dedicated to the priesthood. His family greatly desired that he should become the successor to his uncle who was the high priest of Buddhism in Ceylon.

In token of his dedication a sacred string was tied around his right arm. As a boy he was a bigoted Buddhist, but when he was about twelve years of age his father and mother

were brought to Christ. Though Arnolis was very angry at this and especially when the sacred cord was cut from his arm he became a nominal Christian. He secured the post eventually of head master in a Christian college. All thought him an earnest Christian but he knew in his own heart that this was not true. He never went into deep sin however and when tempted the remembrance of his mother's tears as she prayed for him when he left home came as a restraining influence. He used to say in later years that he could still feel those tears as she fell on his neck praying for him.

Gradually he fell under conviction for sin and being of an intense nature he became truly desperate in his search for salvation. He went so far as to say that if he could not get the heart satisfaction the peace and joy that Paul spoke of he would become a Muhammadan a Hindu or anything. Peace of heart victory over sin consciousness of salvation he must have. He went to ministers and others but no one seemed able to help him. Many tried to persuade him that all was right with him. But he knew otherwise.

It was on a Sunday morning that he went to Church and knelt in prayer declaring that he would not rise until Christ revealed Himself to him. The congregation rose to sing and knelt to pray stood again to sing and sat to hear the lessons, rose again to sing and resumed their seats for the sermon but regardless of the many eyes turned upon him he remained on his knees pouring out his soul to God. Then Christ came to him the gloom vanished his sins were forgiven he was filled with the Holy Ghost and his heart was nigh to bursting with the joy and love of God. As soon as the service was over he hastened to the vestry to tell the good news to his friend the clergyman who confessed that he himself had not the same blessed assurance of salvation and then and there knelt in prayer with Weerasooriyar and sought and found it.

SOME NON-CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES

From time to time within the vast and heterogenous fold of Hinduism there have arisen new religious movements, spontaneous outbreaks of desire for spiritual reality, and the founders of these, at least, have been men with deep religious experiences. From among these Hindu saints and leaders, reforming and reactionary, I have selected nine which show a marked experience more or less akin in its character to Christian conversion. There is no attempt made to classify these according to their merit. The purpose is simply to glean from them further light upon the attitude of the Indian mind to religion. There has been a suspicion with a few that the religious experiences of Christian converts have been determined in their form in many cases by the expectations and suggestions of the western missionaries, and that with the Indian, if left to develop naturally, there would be a different type of conversion and one that might be 'more suitable to the Indian mind' and therefore more productive of spiritual result. Now in most of these cases we have pure oriental experience unaffected by Christian teaching or Western influence. Four are from the days prior to the introduction of Christian missions, two are during these days but largely unaffected by the movement, three show very clearly the influence of Christianity if not of direct Christian teaching.

The earliest case is very ancient. It is that of Narada in the *Mahābhārata*. It is true that the experience is spoken of as having taken place in a previous birth, but the testimony bears evident traces of verisimilitude. It assuredly happened to some one, Narada or another, and is therefore of value.

In my former birth, Narada says, 'I was the son of a certain

rishi's maidservant. During the rainy season, many holy people used to come and seek refuge in that *rishi's* hermitage. I used to minister to their wants. In course of time divine wisdom dawned upon me, and my mind was filled with a single-hearted devotion to Hari. Then when these holy men were about to leave the hermitage they, in the goodness of their heart, taught me the mysteries of philosophy, which enabled me to understand clearly the glory of Hari. I was the only son of my mother and it was only for her sake that I could not leave the *rishi's asrama*. One night she went out to milk her cows. On the way she was bitten by a black serpent that she had trod on, and she died. But I looked upon this event as a great opportunity for the fulfilment of my desire, and alone I entered a huge and terrible forest, shrill with the voice of cicadas. In the course of my wanderings I felt hungry and thirsty. I relieved my fatigue by drinking and bathing in a pool of water. Then I went and sat under a bo tree, and according to the teaching of the saints began meditating on the spirit of God dwelling within the soul. My mind was flooded with emotion, my eyes were filled with tears. All at once I saw the shining vision of Brahma in the lotus core of my heart. A thrill passed through my whole body, I felt a joy beyond all measure. But the next moment I could see him no more. On losing sight of that beatific vision which destroys all sorrow, I suddenly rose from the ground. A great sadness came over my spirit. Then I tried to see him again by force of contemplation, but found him not. I became as one stricken with disease, and would not be comforted. Meanwhile I suddenly heard a voice in the air, "In this life thou shalt see me no more. Those whose hearts have not been purified, who have not attained the highest *yoga*, cannot see me. It was only to stimulate thy love that I once appeared before thee."

Another very ancient experience is that of Manikka Vasagar who lived about the seventh or eighth century when Saivism was rising again and throwing off the yoke of Buddhism and Jainism. Born in Madura, of a Brahmin family, he was a prodigy of intellect and at an early age became deeply versed in Brahmanical Saivite learning. The king heard of him, and having sent for him, loved him and made him his prime minister. His poems tell of the great magnificence in which he lived at this time. The government of the land was left entirely in his hands, and absolute authority, and yet he maintained an undisturbed mind, pondering the tenets of the Saivite faith. He gradually became assured that this outward life and glory must be renounced, shaken off and forsaken, in order that he might attain the 'great release. His soul was filled with pity as he saw the thronging multitudes who, he knew, were passing ever through the round of births and deaths, and were suffering remediless woes. Their only hope lay in a knowledge of Siva, for whom his own heart yearned. To use his own expression, 'like those who suffer from the intense glare of heat, and seek refreshing shade, my soul dissolves in passionate longing for Siva, the living lord.'

Still he continued for some time to administer justice as his sovereign's representative. His supreme yearning, however, was to meet a *guru* who would teach him the way of release. Teachers of Saivism were few, and Jains predominated everywhere. The king of Madura, though a Saivite was apparently lukewarm.

One day the king heard of the arrival at a port of a great multitude of horses from a distant land and sent his minister down to the coast to buy them for him. On the way he met Siva himself disguised as a *guru* and immediately fell in love with him, renounced all his wealth, position and power. Thenceforward he lived the life of an ascetic and teacher.

whose only aim was to win back the land to Siva. He pictured himself in a poem written later falling at the feet of the divine though disguised *guru* and saying, 'Henceforth I renounce all desires of worldly wealth and splendour. To me thy servant, viler than a dog, who worship at thy feet, grant emancipation from corporeal bonds. Take me as thy slave, O king of my soul!'

This in brief is the early story of this South Indian saint as taken from the volume of his life and poems edited by the late Dr. Pope. In the whole legendary history of this sage, full of marvels, when deductions have been made for the exaggerations that have grown up around the obscurity of the original facts, there stands out a real historical character. In almost every poem he alludes to this crisis, pouring forth the ecstasies of gratitude and thanksgiving and again and again repeating the words, 'I am thine, save me!'. His hymns are widely used over South India. They contain a mixture of gross idolatry and lofty spiritual aspiration. It is impossible not to feel that he was a sincere seeker after truth.

In the fourteenth or fifteenth century on the East Coast of India a family of Reddis held paramount sway over a large area, and one of the last princes of this dynasty was Vemana. He became one of the chief Telugu reformers and the records of his life contain evidences of a purer faith than is common in the past history of the Telugu country. His story is found embedded in a narrative thick with marvels so that it is not easy to distinguish the elements of his actual spiritual experience. The circumstances of his 'conversion,' however, are fairly clear.

He was the younger brother of the last king of his line and he was very much under the influence of the king's wife who is described as a pure and virtuous woman, 'so amiable, kind and loving a queen we have not seen in all our life,' was the

common testimony. She is spoken of the chief cause of Vemana's greatness. For a long time, however, her influence seems to have had small result. Vemana, being only a Reddi by caste, had no access to the sacred writings. As a youth he led a life of profanity and debauchery. He remained unmarried and kept a dancing girl, and began to spend almost all his time at her house.

His sister-in-law succeeded eventually in getting the connection with the dancing girl severed, and the young prince had to discover some other way of employing his time. He found occupation in long visits to the State jewel workshop which was under the care of a certain Abhi Raman, a clever craftsman, and very pious. This manager was in the habit of performing lengthy religious ceremonies in the morning and only coming to his shop when these were completed. This was not considered satisfactory by the young prince who arrogantly ordered the old man to attend early in the morning whether his ceremonies suffered by it or not. News of this high handed procedure reached the king's ears, and he reprimanded his brother. Nettled by the king's remarks, the prince determined to spy on the jeweller and see what it was that he did each morning that he considered so important. In accordance with this determination, he one day set out at daybreak and concealed himself among the thick leaves of a tree opposite the house of Abhi Raman. The jeweller woke up early in the morning, walked out for upwards of a mile and reached a pleasant tope of mango and areca nut where there was a reservoir. He bathed in its waters, offered ablutions to the sun god and steeped himself in contemplation for about an hour. He rose and traced his steps into another beautiful garden, where he collected various sweet scented flowers and proceeded to a cave not far off. There a certain Lambika Siva Yogi had been living for a long time. He prostrated

himself before the Yogi and laid the flowers before him. The sage opened his eyes and said, 'Chela, be of good cheer. The Lord will bless you. I am satisfied with your service. Come here early to-morrow morning and I shall initiate you into the secrets of the inner world. Mark, to-morrow is the last day for this mortal frame to stand on earth.'

'Vemana, who closely followed Abhi Raman unperceived, had overheard this conversation with great interest. He hastened home again unobserved and reached the shop to supervise the work as usual.' On Abhi Raman's arrival, to the surprise of all no account was asked him of his late attendance. Vemana, however, was immersed in his own thoughts. He resolved to deprive the jeweller of the mystic explanation he was to receive from the dying Yogi, and concocted a plan by which he might detain him from keeping his appointment the next morning. He arranged a plot with his sister-in-law, who was ignorant of its purpose, to prevent the jeweller's absence, and the poor man, to his intense sorrow, was not permitted to leave the palace.

The prince, meanwhile greatly pleased with the success of his scheme rose very early, went into the same tope in which he saw Abhi Raman the previous day, performed his ablutions, and with the choicest flowers approached the Yogi and prostrated himself at his feet. The Yogi was immersed in meditation and remained for some time in that condition. When at last he became aware of the presence of the stranger, he asked him 'What brought you here?' He replied, 'Venerable Sir, my master has been detained on some urgent business of the king's, and bade me to come and explain the delay.' The Yogi waited some time and then asked whether his master was in sight. Vemana glanced out and replied in the negative. This was done thrice. At last Siva Yogi said, 'Abhi Raman is a most unfortunate man. I have reserved a *Maha Mantra* to

initiate him into but he has not kept to day's appointment, while all these years he has never failed to attend. Can fate be more cruel than this. However as I am to leave this body to day I will teach you something.' So saying he drew Vemana near to him, whispered the *mantra* in his ears and inscribed some letters on his tongue. The Yogi then pressed his eyes hard and told him to behold and rejoice over the sight. What Vemana then saw was beyond description. A dazzling sight which resembled in its splendour the glorious radiance of a hundred suns such as he had never seen before, appeared to him. When the light had disappeared the Yogi said sternly to him 'Go thy way!' and then himself immediately disappeared. Vemana reached home with a heavy heart and a guilty conscience.

Hurrying back to the workshop he flung himself at the feet of Ahlu Raman in spite of the protestations of all present and remained there until he had received an assurance of the old man's pardon. Vemana then made a full confession and was greatly cheered by the pardon that was freely given him. At once he renounced all his wealth and honours and gave himself up to meditation on the things he had seen and heard. He developed a remarkable poetic gift and his verses enjoy great popularity wherever Telugu people are found. He never wearied of extolling the virtues of Ahlu Raman and attributes great honour to his royal sister-in-law whom he afterwards spoke of as his first *guru*. He refused to the horror of his family, to believe in the sanctity of sacred places even of Benares itself and admitted the virtue of no sacred relics. God was to be worshipped in all places and at all times.

One of the most spiritual teachers of India was Tukaram or Tukarama who lived in Western India near Poona during the first half of the seventeenth century. From his thirteenth year he had to undertake the management of his father's grain

business Successful for some time in this, he was brought to distress and bankruptcy by a famine, at which time several of his relatives died. Upon this, he turned seriously to religion. His family had always been noted for their piety, and he naturally devoted himself to the family god, Vitthoba or Vitthala. He was a shrewd observer of human nature and his poems and pithy sayings contain a just estimate of life. His poems are very popular and some of his remarkable sayings are strikingly similar to passages in the Pauline epistles. He remained a humble-minded man throughout his religious career, shunning popularity and devoting himself to the cultivation of religion in himself and his fellow countrymen. The following extracts are from his translated poems, and in arriving at an estimate of them there must be borne in mind the serious difficulty the translator meets in finding terms adequate to the subject that have not already become specialized and enlarged in meaning by Christian use.

His sense of need before the religious crisis of his life may be judged by the following extracts, written of course after that event, but bearing closely on his early experience. 'If I will not seek my own advantage, if I am content to depend on my merit, then am I a worthless sinner.' 'Where have I found a resting-place. Though I call my feet and my hands my own, how bereft I am of them.' 'I am a friendless stranger, blind and lame. O Lord, regard me and relieve me. I tremble as I follow the path before me. I cannot see what happens though my ears perceive a sound. I sit at the cross roads, holding fast my thoughts. I cry out for mercy like one that has lost his way.' (This is possibly connected somehow with temporal supplies) 'Any merits I had I resign. Wealth, family, son, mother, all these ties I have cast off. O, God, I have renounced desire. . . You are now my all-powerful protector.'

His sense of personal unworthiness is quite remarkable for Hinduism. 'I have no faith in myself . . . ; but do thou, O Saviour of the sinful, make true my words' I call myself thy servant, but in my spirit dwell passion and worldly hope

'I am desolate and guilty, void of good actions, slow in understanding. Through shame I have turned from my own true welfare. I have often slandered others. I have not done good deeds I harassed others without compassion I have devoted myself hand and foot to the service of my body . I have fallen into bad company. . I have destroyed myself But Thou art a sea of mercy, O carry me over to the end

He evidently sounded the depths of despair. 'My life has been passed in seeking pleasure, I have not pursued for one moment liberation I have vexed myself with wandering in every region, my life has been shrouded in illusion. . . when I tried to think of thee, when I drew near to death, I knew thee not, though thou wast near to me. Dust returns to dust, the store of the past clings to the soul . . . Show (me) the path through life'

'Consider not that I am faulty and full of transgression; be not angry against me Why do you not speak, O God? Why do you make me wretched? O Narayada, cruel and merciless, I have cried on thee unheard till all my voice is lost. Why has my spirit found no repose? . . . My spirit is afflicted, I can remember no good thought. . . I can turn neither to this place or that, utter darkness has fallen upon me'

He even appears to overestimate his sinfulness in his morbid introspection 'I finished all my means, I ran into debt; I left my field unweeded; I starved my wife and children; I plundered other people's houses, I could not save myself whatever I did . . O God be merciful, and (show me the truth'

The crisis seems to be reached when he says, 'I cannot speak or sing with clear utterance but I have brought body, speech and mind to seek thy protection O accept me, reject me not, O Hari! O Saviour of the sinful vindicate thy name' I know nothing of faith or doctrine I call myself thy servant'

The crisis is thus described I dreamed that I was imprisoned in a gang, but when the dream ended it all turned out to be false I cried for mercy in vain King noble and peasant—the whole picture was unreal but my sufferings were real, till I awoke, my bodily experiences witness it, for it was pain that made me open my eyes I was caught in the net of this illusory world, but this Vitthala took mercy on me He rescued me and set me apart and showed me the form that I view with fond and curious love

'I left the world by my own resolution, for I was bound up in it heart and soul In my own life I have experienced both good and evil fortune I have witnessed both I have found both displeasing I will take God with me and make Him my guide

'By caste I was a Sudra, I became a trader this God from the first had been worshipped by my family When my father and mother had finished their course I was grievously harassed by the world A famine used up my money, and took away my good name, one wife of mine died crying for food I grew ashamed and tormented by this grief I saw that I was losing my business The temple of God which we had was in ruins I resolved to do what occurred to me I began by preaching and singing on the eleventh day but at first my mind was not in practice So I learned by heart some speeches of the saints. When others sang first I took up the refrain, purifying my mind by faith I counted holy the water wherein the feet of the saints had been washed I suffered no shame to enter my mind I served others when the chance was

given me, wearing out my own body. I paid no heed to friends who loved me, I was sick of the world. I bade my own mind testify to the true and the false, I paid no heed to the voice of the crowd. I honoured the instruction my teacher gave me in a dream, I believed firmly in God's name.'

Joy came as a result. 'I speak though I am silent, I am dead yet alive, I am in the world, yet out of it. I have renounced all yet I have my fill of pleasure. I am alone, yet not alone. . . .

'Infinite bliss and joy are bestowed upon my soul, he who is joy in the highest has taken my burden.'

Entire surrender brought peace. 'I have cast down my burden; I am free from anxious care, . . . He put out his hand and caressed my head, he bade me lay aside care. . . My mortal toil is over, I have embraced thy feet; Now, O infinite one, do thy will.

Service sprang out of the new experience. 'I will point out the way of God, he who wishes can enjoy the fruit of it. . . I proclaim these resources to benefit mankind, I have no delight in any other task. I am filled with compassion for the world, for I cannot bear to see it drowning. . . . The delight of his (Krishna's) company grows from moment to moment. Henceforth I shall teach mankind to be as fond of him as I am.'

The case of Maharishi Devendranath Tagore is peculiarly interesting, as he stands between ancient and modern Hinduism, the crown as it were of the old, and apparently untouched by the new influences though he lived in the new days. He was a follower of Ram Mohun Roy though but a youth when that great reformer died, and he became his successor in the Brahmo Samaj. The full story is told in the volume recently published, written by his son. 'To him, ancient India,' says his son, 'was the cradle of all that was pure in morals and

religion. He was a man more deeply imbued than any one in modern times with the genuine spirit of the ancient rishis. It is singular that the one field that was foreign to him was the Hebrew Scriptures. He was never known to quote the Bible, nor do we find any allusions to Christ or His teachings in his sermons. For him the Indian Scriptures sufficed . . . He drew all his authority and inspiration from the Upanishads.

Born of a very wealthy and highly connected family, his grandmother was all in all to him during his childhood. He ate with her, went to the temple with her. He says, 'She was a deeply religious woman. Every day she used to bathe in the Ganges very early in the morning, and every day she used to weave garlands of flowers for the family idol. Sometimes she would spend a whole day in solar admiration,' and the lad would sit with her on the terrace in the sun until he became quite familiar with the texts of sun-worship. She was far less narrow in her views than many. 'There was a certain freedom of mind in her, together with a blind faith in religion.' The time came for the old woman to die, and they carried her down to the Ganges that she might die on that holy spot.

'On the night before her death,' says Devendranath Tagore, 'I was sitting at the Ghat on a coarse mat near the shed. It was the night of the full moon; the moon had risen, the burning ground was near. They were singing the holy name to the dying woman. The sounds reached my ears faintly, borne on the night wind. At this opportune moment a strange sense of the unreality of all things suddenly entered my mind. I was as if *no longer the same man*. A strong aversion to wealth arose within me. The coarse bamboo mat on which I sat seemed to be my fitting seat, carpets and costly spreadings seemed hateful, in my mind was awakened a joy unfelt before.

'I was eighteen years old Up to this time I had plunged in a life of luxury and pleasure I had never sought after spiritual truths What was religion? What was God? I knew nothing, had learnt nothing My mind could scarcely contain the unworldly joy, so simple and natural which I experienced at the burning ghat Language is weak in every way how can I make others understand the joy I felt? It was a spontaneous delight, to which nobody can attain by argument or logic God Himself seeks for the opportunity of pouring it out Who says there is no God? This is proof enough of His existence I was not prepared for it whence then did I receive this joy?

'With this sense of joy and renunciation, I returned home at midnight That night I could not sleep It was this blissful state of mind that kept me awake Throughout the night my heart was suffused with a moonlight radiance of joy

'At daybreak I went again to the riverside to see my grandmother She was then drawing her last breaths They had carried her into the water and were fervently crying aloud, "Gaaga Narayan Brahma!" She breathed her last I drew near and saw that her hand was placed on her breast with the fourth finger pointing upwards Turning her finger round and round and crying "Haribol" (a name for God) she passed into the next world When I saw this it seemed to me that at the time of death she pointed out to me with uplifted finger, "That is God and the Hereafter"

The few days of the funeral ceremonies passed away in a whirl of excitement 'Then I tried to recover the joy of the night previous to her death But I never got it back At this time my state of mind was one of continued despondency and indifference to the world In the absence of this delight a deep gloom settled on my mind I longed for a repetition of that ecstatic feeling I lost all interest in everything

else . . . It was the joy of that night that awakened my love for God. . . . The fur winds of luxury and pleasure had been blowing round me day and night. Yet in spite of these adverse circumstances God in His mercy gave me the spirit of renunciation and took away from me my attachment to the world. And then He who is the source of all joy gave new life by pouring streams of joy in my mind. This mercy of His is beyond compare. He alone is my guru. He alone is my Father.'

In his new enthusiasm he actually gave away his personal possessions and clothing. But the joy did not return. He grew absent-minded and melancholy. 'I used to take my seat on a tombstone in the middle of the gardens. Great grief was in my heart. Darkness was all around me. The temptations of the world had ceased but the sense of God was no nearer, earthly and heavenly happiness were alike withdrawn. Life was dreary.'

He commenced the study of Sanskrit with great diligence and found verses in the *Mahabharata* that helped him. 'My endeavour was to obtain God, not through blind faith but by the light of knowledge. And being unsuccessful in this, my mental struggles increased from day to day. Sometimes I thought I could live no longer.

'Suddenly, as I thought and thought, a flash as of lightning broke through this darkness and dependency.' It was the fact of the presence of God in human life and in the world—not as immanent, but causal. 'Through the help of this slender thread, His attributes became clear to my mind. I saw that no one could frustrate the will of Him who is infinite Wisdom . . . He is the Creator.'

As a result of the new realization of God as Spirit, 'a strong antipathy to idolatry arose in my mind.' Further reading in the Upanishads brought help. He says, 'my intellect began

to be daily illumined by the light of truth, I felt a strong desire to spread the true religion.' Gradually, in spite of persecution by idolatrous relatives and misunderstanding and loneliness, his heart, during the next ten years, recovered its early joy. 'My faith in God took deep root; in lieu of earthly pleasure I tasted divine joy.' In the sacred writings he found things that made him stumble, but 'whenever I came across idolatrous teaching in any *shastra*,' he says, 'I no longer felt any reverence for it.'

His satisfaction grew ever deeper 'What I had never known, what I had never even wished for, even that He wants to give. . . The hope which I had in my heart when I approached His presence, was now fulfilled to the utmost. . . A deep and abiding connection was established with God the indwelling Spirit. He was not far from me, not only a silent witness, but that He dwelt within my soul and inspired all my thoughts. Then I knew that I was not helpless, He is my stay everlasting. . . I had seen Him face to face, had heard His voice of command, and had become His constant companion . . . I was satisfied with getting so much, but He was not content with giving so little . . . The little that I now see of Him, the little of His voice that I can hear, is not enough to assuage my hunger and my thirst . . . I came to know now that He was the life of my life, the Friend of my heart.'

These are samples of the considerable volume of testimony he gives, though much of it, of course, was written years afterwards. His experience is remarkably similar to that of many of our Christian mystics, and it is difficult to believe that he had not been influenced by Christian autobiography, if not by direct Christian teaching. His excellent knowledge of English and his wide reading of philosophy makes it more likely still that he must have had Christian influences ever

though he was unconscious of them. Much of his later spiritual experience as contained in his autobiography reads like chapters out of Christian writings, though there is always present an element that is typically Hindu.

Another remarkable account of a profound religious experience occurring during the crucial years of adolescence is that of Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, a remarkable personality, but one whose pure reforming instincts were checked by later influences. He was born of a Brahmin family, and his father had the reputation of being thoroughly orthodox and uncompromising, a stern, dour man. His mother was a sweet and gentle character with broader sympathies and her influence was evidently the stronger with the lad. In the part of Gujerat where he lived, moreover, there was a reforming Jain sect which strongly disavowed idolatry, and there can be little doubt that the young Dayananda came into contact with this purer faith.

His father was his teacher, but Dayananda was a born rebel and struggled constantly, we are told, against his father's will. The crisis for him came when he was fourteen years old, and his father who was a Saivite, determined to initiate him into the family faith. What happened that night is told us by himself in a fine passage in which we can recognize the beginning of a real spiritual experience.

'When the great day of gloom and fasting—called *Siva Ratri*—had arrived, . . . my father . . . commanded me to fast adding that I had to be initiated on that night into the sacred legend, and participate in that night's long vigil in the temple of Siva. Accordingly I followed him along with other young men who accompanied their parents. The vigil is divided into four parts, called *praharas*, consisting of three hours each. Having . . . sat up for the first two *praharas* till the hour of midnight I remarked that the *pujaris*, or

temple servants, and some of the lay devotees, after having left the inner temple had fallen asleep outside. Having been taught for years that by sleeping on that particular night, the worshipper lost all good effects of his devotion, I tried to refrain from drowsiness by bathing my eyes now and then with cold water. But my father was less fortunate. Unable to resist fatigue he was the first to fall asleep, leaving me to watch alone.'

He was still engaged in struggling with sleep when there occurred a common and insignificant incident which changed the current of his whole life. A mouse crept on to the body of the idol, and having satisfied itself that the image was harmless began to nibble the offerings that had been placed there by the devotees.

'Thoughts upon thoughts began to crowd upon me,' says Dayanand, 'and one question after another in my disturbed mind. Is it possible, I asked myself, that this semblance of man, the idol of a personal god that I see bestriding his bull before me, and who, according to all religious accounts, walks about, eats, sleeps and drinks, who can hold a trident in his hand, beat upon the drum. . . is it possible that he can be the Mahadeva, the Great Deity . . . ?' Unable to resist such thoughts any longer, I awoke my father, abruptly asking him to enlighten me, to tell me whether this hideous emblem of sin in the temple was identical with the Mahadeva of the Scriptures or something else? "Why do you ask it?" said my father. "Because," I answered, "I feel it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent living God, with this idol which allows the mice to run upon its body, and suffers its image to be polluted without the slightest protest."

'Then' my father tried to explain to me that this stone representation of the Mahadeva, having been consecrated with the Vedic mantras in the most solemn way by the holy

Brahmins, became in consequence, *the* God himself, and is worshipped as such, adding that, as Siva cannot be personally perceived in this Kali Yuga (age of darkness) we hence have the idol in which he is worshipped by his votaries. But the explanation fell short of satisfying me. I could not, young as I was, help suspecting misinterpretation and sophistry in all this. Feeling faint with hunger and fatigue, I begged to be allowed to return home. He had decided the whole matter to his own satisfaction, and went home and broke his fast with no more misgiving.

The three remaining cases are of men who, though largely influenced by Christianity, never found their way into its fold. They were all leaders in the Brahmo Samaj, that remarkable movement that has gathered into itself so many fine spirits, and yet has withal run so disappointing a course.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the pioneer of advance and reform in modern Hinduism, lived in the earlier part of last century. His family were Bengali Brahmins and belonged to one of the Vaisnavite sects. His parents were deeply religious and very conservative. Destined for court life he was sent at the age of ten to Patna to study Persian and Arabic. There he was greatly attracted by the mystical and monotheistic teaching of a Muhammadan sect, the Sufis. From Patna he went to Benares to learn Sanskrit, and the unblushing idolatry and superstition he saw in that city clashed with the previous influence of a purer faith, and he returned to his father's house at the age of sixteen a determined enemy of idolatry.

He soon found himself in conflict with his family, and the breach was widened by a treatise he wrote in which he boldly attacked image worship. His father drove him from home and for four years he wandered from province to province and even beyond the borders of Tibet, welcoming any spiritual influence and sustained only by the steadfastness of his

convictions. It was only at the age of twenty two that he returned to his home and was received by his father. He then received an English education in Calcutta and came into touch with the Scottish missionaries whose teaching greatly affected him. but it was during those early years of suffering and wandering that he came to his deepest convictions on religion convictions that carried him along the path of reform throughout his life. His experience may be characterized as a gradual awakening, so gentle in its trend that it is impossible to point to any special crisis. Its thorough and radical character can only be appreciated in the light of his subsequent career, too well known to need mention in this place.

As Devendranath Tagore followed Ram Mohun Roy in the leadership of the Brahmo Samaj and yet failed to follow him in his sympathetic attitude towards the new light of Christianity, so was he himself succeeded by Keshub Chunder Sen who was influenced by Christian teaching to a far greater extent than the founder of the Reform movement. Beginning with the purified Hinduism of Tagore this brilliant man found his way into a religion that in reality was rooted in Christ. His advent into this attitude towards Christ was a slow growth, but it led him steadily on into an experience that was truly Christian. He expressed himself in a public meeting in Calcutta thus: 'My Christ my sweet Christ, the brightest jewel of my heart, the necklace of my soul—for twenty years have I cherished Him in this my miserable heart. Though often reviled and persecuted by the world, I have found sweetness and joy unutterable in my master Jesus. The mighty artillery of His love He levelled against me and I was vanquished and I fell at His feet. With Paul I say 'For me to live is Christ'.

The apostolic succession was carried on by others whose lives were deeply influenced by Keshub especially by P. C.

Mozoomdar whose 'conversion' is of deepest interest. We have the account of it in an eloquent autobiographical passage

'Nearly twenty years ago, he wrote, 'my troubles, studies and circumstances forced upon me the question of a personal relationship to Christ. Though for a short time taught in a government college in Calcutta where no moral or religious instruction is ever given, and where, on the contrary, a good deal of opposite influence is directly or indirectly imbibed, I was early awakened to a sense of deep inner unworthiness. Placed in my youth by the side of a very pure and powerful character, whose external conditions were similar to my own, I was helped to feel by the law of contrast that I was painfully imperfect, and needed very much the grace of a saving God. In the Brahmo Samaj this sense of imperfection soon deepened into a strong sense of sin. The doctrine of original corruption never preoccupied my boyhood and youth, the fear of eternal punishment never biased my thought or aspiration. I was never taught to feel any undue leaning towards the Christian Scriptures, or the Christian religion. Mine was a strong unforced consciousness of natural and acquired unworthiness. Keshub Chunder Sen's early melancholy had, perhaps, an effect upon me. No doubt, his severe morality affected and partly moulded my character. The influence of Christian doctrine might perhaps be diffused in the moral atmosphere of the land of my birth. Definite recollection or conscious analysis does not give me any clue into how or why it was. But this I do clearly remember that as the sense of sin grew on me and with it a deep, miserable restlessness, a necessity of reconciliation between aspiration and practice, I was mysteriously led to feel a personal affinity to the spirit of Christ. The whole subject of the life and death of Christ had for me a marvellous sweetness and fascination. Untaught by any one, not sympathized with by the very best of my friends, often

discouraged and ridiculed, I persisted in according to Christ a tenderness of honour which rose in my heart unbidden I prayed, I fasted at Christmas and Easter times I secretly hunted the bookshops of Calcutta to gather the so called likenesses of Christ I did not know, I cared not to think, whither all this would lead

About the year 1867, a very painful period of spiritual isolation overtook me I have repeatedly during such seasons lost the sympathy of friends and sought my God alone. But one of the severest trials was at the time to which I make allusion I was alone in Calcutta My inward trials and travails had really reached a crisis It was a weekday evening I forget the date now The gloomy and haunted shades of the summer evening had suddenly thickened into darkness, and all things, both far and near, had assumed an unearthly mysteriousness I sat near the large lake in the Hindu College compound Above me rose in a sombre mass the giant, grim, old seesum tree, under which I have played so often, and my father played before me A sobbing, gusty wind swam over the water's surface, the ripples sounded on the grassy banks the breeze rustled in the highest regions of the great tree My eyes, nearly closed, were dreamily conscious of the gloomy calmness of the scenery

'I was meditating on the state of my soul, on the cure of all spiritual wretchedness, the brightness and peace unknown to me which was the lot of God's children I prayed and besought heaven I cried and shed hot tears It might be said I was almost in a state of trance Suddenly it seemed to me let me own it was revealed to me, that close to me there was a holier, more blessed, most loving personality upon which I might repose my troubled head Jesus lay discovered in my heart as a strange, human, kindred love, as a repose, a sympathetic consolation, an unpurchased treasure to which I

was freely invited. The response of my nature was unhesitating and immediate. Jesus, from that day, became to me a reality whereon I might lean. It was an impulse then, a flood of light, love and consolation. It is no longer an impulse now, it is a faith and a principle; it is an experience verified by a thousand trials. It was not a bodily Christ then, it is much less a bodily emanation now. A character, a spirit, a holy, sacrificed, exalted self, whom I recognized as the true Son of God. According to my humble light, I have always tried to be faithful to that inspiration. My aspiration has been not to speculate on Christ, but to be what Jesus tells us all to be. I can, with perfect truth, declare that it is the grace and activity of the indwelling presence of God alone whereto I am indebted for these experiences.

My heart long ago recognized its personal relationship to the soul and sympathy of Christ. In the midst of these crumbling systems of Hindu error and superstition . . . in the midst of these cold, spectral shadows of transition, secularism and agnostic doubt, to me Christ has been like the meat and drink of my soul. His influences have woven round me for the last twenty years or more, and outside the fold of Christianity as I am, have formed a new fold wherein I find many besides myself. . . . The Bible has been my guide and I have rejoiced to find pure, simple, glorious manhood in the Son of Man.

It is, of course, to be remembered that these cases are not typical of Hinduism, but they bear perhaps the relation to the rank and file of religious Hindus that those of George Fox, John Bunyan or Madame Guyon do to the generality of Christians.

Of the reality of the experiences there can be no doubt, and in many respects they are wholly satisfying, so far as they go. There is, however, one most important element lacking in

but one of the purely Hindu testimonies, and the presence of which in the remainder is plainly a result of Christian influence. I refer to the sense of sinfulness and need of repentance. Hinduism knows no need of forgiveness in the Christian meaning of the term, and therein lies its chief weakness. No sense of sin means no need of a Saviour. The great example of this is found in the record of Devendranath Tagore, where amid the beatings of a whole souled devotion to God we feel the absence of that humble gratitude which rises from the greatly forgiven soul. Illumination is the goal desired, union with the Deity is the object to be attained.

Indian mysticism, like Western mysticism, while it is the flower of centuries of seeking and introspection, has its dangers. And curiously enough, its chief danger is one that was present, though in a degree less marked, in the great mystics of the West in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is succinctly expressed by Illingworth thus: 'The danger of seeking union with God by obliteration of human limitations and human attributes on the one hand, and on the other of underestimating the human sense of guilt, that awful guardian of our personal identity. Hence, though it begins by deepening our sense of individuality it often ends by drifting, both morally and intellectually, towards a Pantheism in which all

unusual in an Indian *guru*, of Lukarima's unwillingness to receive divine honours nay even any honours at all

But perhaps the most interesting fact and that of greatest importance in these cases is that the experiences always have to do with a Personality. It is God under one name or another. It may be Vitthoba or Brahma or Siva or Hari, or it may be as in the later cases the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, but it is always a person and not a doctrine or a pantheon that is central in experience.

PART II

QUESTIONNAIRE RECORDS

THE AGE OF CONVERSION

THE first point for consideration in any study of conversion is the age at which the experience occurs. On this matter investigators in the West are practically unanimous. It is, according to Starbuck, 'a distinctly adolescent phenomenon,' that is, the vast majority of cases of definite conversion occur within the years ten to twenty-five, some students of the problem claiming 85 per cent and others as high as 95 per cent of all cases for these critical years.

The records of Indian cases of conversion considered here do not to any large extent depart from these general principles. There are in all 942 cases, comprising those who replied to the Questionnaire, those whose autobiographical records have already been dealt with, and a large number secured in other ways. They are thus distributed:

Males--From Christian Homes	477
„ Non-Christian Homes	189
Females „ Christian Homes	235
„ Non Christian Homes	41

(They will henceforth usually be differentiated, for the sake of brevity, by the terms 'Christian' and 'Non Christian'; and this will be understood to refer to the homes from which they came) •

On the following diagram there is indicated the distribution of conversion according to age of those born in Christian families. The figures along the base line show the age, and

less prominent than that shown here. The natural conclusion is that the Indian child on entry into adolescence, because of the fact that he is so much more amenable to influence, is more responsive to spiritual appeals than the Western child.

Turning now to those from non-Christian families, a considerable difference is noticeable

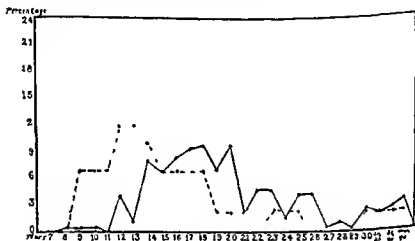


DIAGRAM II

Showing in percentages the ages of conversion in non Christian families

Males

Females

—

The number of females shown here is unfortunately small, though even that number of records was collected with difficulty. An important point to notice is the ratio of those who are the product of direct evangelistic effort to those who were taught in mission schools and who therefore came under similar influences to children of Christian parents. As a matter of fact the former are comparatively few. According to the records which yield information on the point, only one third had not been under the influence of the

Christian school and daily Bible instruction There is reason to believe that the proportion would be still lower among the remainder of the records

Almost fifty per cent of the males were converted between the ages of sixteen and twenty, the years of greatest frequency being eighteen and twenty In estimating the value of this statement it is to be borne in mind that the Government of India does not allow a child to accept Christian baptism before the age of sixteen without the express consent of the parents, a consent that is seldom given And so it is possible that in a number of cases an inward decision was arrived at earlier, but the point on which memory would be likely to fasten would be the time when confession was made by some public act The larger percentage of females who decided about the age of twelve or thirteen is accounted for by the usual withdrawal of girls from regular Christian instruction about the age of twelve, so that, with most, decision to definitely confess Christ must come then or never A few who come under the later influences of the zenana workers have their earlier impressions deepened and brought to fruition, but once marriage has taken place the opportunities for openly becoming Christians are naturally slight

The significance of these diagrams as revealing the ages of greatest response to religious teaching will perhaps be still more evident if the results are given in another form. The larger numbers in each case are in bolder type to assist the mind in grasping the meaning of the figures (Table I)

The average ages of conversion for the four classes dealt with are as follows

	Years		Years
Christian (Males)	14.9	Christian (Females)	13.3
Non Christian (Males)	20.6	Non Christian (Females)	16.6

The records show that most of the cases in which conversion took place later than fifteen or sixteen years were of persons who had not been brought up under regular Christian instruction. The statement that conversion is a special phenomenon of adolescence is apparently only true where there has been such teaching and training, and in the instances of those with whom such instruction was lacking there is not the idealising condition that marks the moral awakening with which we are familiar.

The replies regarding the manner of conversion show that with the majority the experience has been a gradual one devoid of any noteworthy moment of crisis. Information on this point was secured from 383 persons, and they may be divided thus:

	Christian		Non Christian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sudden	80	18	33	5
Gradual	106	24	113	14

It is to be remarked, however, that some have confused the gradual process that led to the crisis with the crisis itself, and because there was not a moment when, to use the words of George Matheson, the soul was 'translated by a seemingly instantaneous act into a height of heavenly illumination', the reply was given that the conversion was gradual. The experience at conversion may have been sudden without being striking, and with many of those taught in our schools, Christian scholars as well as Hindu or Muhammadan, the process of drawing near to the Lord was spread over a considerable time and the final act was but the culmination of a decision that had been growing more and more definite. Attention and desire had been directed to the subject, now with more vigour and now with less, interest had deepened, and the final surrender though very real at the time had been

so natural and easy that it does not stand out in memory as a definite act

With the majority of these there had been no violent break with either past beliefs or past actions, and it would therefore be less likely that there should be a striking experience that is remembered evermore. In many cases, as on a cloudy morning, the sun had risen before the eye perceived its rising, but there was a moment when the eye became aware that it was risen. The distinction, therefore, between sudden and gradual was not easy for the respondents to make, and is not always easy to determine from their replies.

A number, though very earnest Christians, found it impossible to speak with definiteness of the time of decision or conversion. The following are typical of these —

M. 18¹ 'At eighteen I decided to serve Christ, that is, I so declared myself in public at that age. Although from childhood I loved to be a child of God and serve Him. I made this announcement on the occasion of a special service. At the close of an address the preacher asked those who believed that their names were written in the Book of Life to get up on the platform and testify to that effect, and I did so.'

F. 13 'I never was converted in the way you mean, but, I think, I was more serious after a conversation with a friend about the Second Coming of Christ, I suppose I was about thirteen.'

F. 'I never had any such experience yet. I am perfectly sure that Jesus is my personal Saviour and Friend. At times I have made fuller consecration to Him, but I cannot recall a definite time when I actually decided to serve Him. I have all along felt that I belong to Him.'

¹ M and F denote male and female. The numbers indicate the age at the time of conversion.

M. 16 'I cannot definitely say or point out an occasion or incident when I was converted. I believe it has been a series of incidents or events in my life which has gradually led me to accept Christ as my Lord and Master.'

In some cases conversion has been confused with some outward step such as baptism, confirmation or joining the Church. This is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the records deal with all denominations, and that these do not all place the emphasis on the same aspect of conversion.

F. 16. 'I believed I was a true Christian, but it seemed unfinished without baptism.'

M. 14 'I thought I was not a true Christian until I joined the Church.'

M. 15 I did not understand what a true Christian was, for somehow a wrong impression was made on our minds that a person is accounted a Christian only on his joining the Church after baptism. We understood (from the preaching) that it was faith and not baptism that saves a person, but for all that in our younger days we never regarded a person as a true Christian until he was baptized.

M. 22. 'I was baptized at twelve because the other boys were being baptized, and I felt for some time quite content.'

M. 18 'As I was educated in the mission school I sometimes used to feel that I must become holy. But I was not taught about conversion. I received a lot of religious education about what to do for Christ, but was not taught that there is immediate salvation in Him.'

I. 18 is a sample of several. She was confirmed about thirteen and 'tried to live a Christian life, prayed, attended communion, gave a little'. But she was not at rest and was converted four or five years later.

M 'For a few years before my baptism I was like a Christian in a Hindu family

With some, however, the outward step was a great help, perhaps in focussing the desires that were growing in strength and definiteness

F 12 'Since I was brought up in a Christian family I was taught to be kind and loving from the beginning I was not conscious of sin At the time of my baptism I decided to serve Christ

M 12 'I decided to serve Christ when I joined the Church at the age of twelve

F 12 'At the time of my baptism I decided to serve Christ

F 18 'I had a desire for holiness forgiveness and salvation before my confirmation I was confirmed at the age of eighteen My confirmation seemed to be a sacred thing and my feelings were grave There was no immediate consciousness of a great change except the feeling that I was making a great attempt at being good

F 14 'I do not know my age when I gave my heart to Christ but at the time of my confirmation I looked at things more solemnly The change was not at all sudden for I had always wanted to be good and tried to be good'

F 15 'I was converted at school at confirmation time The catechism made me feel that I belong to Christ So I gave myself fully to Him and promised to be His

There is no doubt that some of the haziness about decision for Christ must be attributed to the fact that the teaching given was lacking in clearness and definiteness Some of the quotations already given show this and to them may be added three more

M 18 'I occasionally had a desire for holiness after a sermon or lesson but one thing I can say,' he writes 'no one

urged *me* to decide for Christ. General questions were put to *all* the boys . . . but it was for the whole class. If I had been taken privately and the necessity of being a child of God had been urged upon me I would have decided early. But the impressions wore off.

M 19 From the time he began to understand things to the end of his sixteenth year he tried to follow God and thought himself a true Christian, but on leaving school, he says in a testimony too long to quote, and coming into the company of evil men he found no strength to stand against evil, and himself became wicked.

M 32 'I can honestly say that I had a real longing for forgiveness for more than four years before conversion. I wish I had been told simply and plainly the way to obtain forgiveness . . . Sin was denounced, but how just to get out of sin was never explained.'

A number of the replies, however, tell of a very definite occasion of conversion. Out of 112 students at a large Theological Seminary, twenty six were able to refer to some definite sermon or particular incident which led them to become Christians. Even in the cases of conversion from the non-Christian religions, the act of decision with some was sudden and marked. The two instances that follow are examples of this. M.—'I occasionally visited the Salvation Army open air meetings and one day a Colonel was the leader. His subject was about repentance, deliverance and salvation. I followed them indoors. In this second meeting I was surely convicted that I was a sinner. An Indian and a European officer each spoke to me afterwards about my soul. The European was able to speak in my vernacular and I was very glad to listen to him. I said I would be glad to have salvation, but I had no money to pay for it. They told me it was free. Would I have it now? I said yes, and they invited me to

come to the front and kneel down and ask the Lord to forgive my sin. I did as they said, and Christ there pardoned all my sin and accepted me, and I know now that I belong to Him, mind, heart, and soul and body. All my sins are washed away by His blood. F— I received a Bible from the missionary lady, and I used to read it as a story, but one day I was reading the Acts of the Apostles and that struck me very much. Since then I began to love Christ. As my parents were trying to get me married I thought if I married a Hindu it would be a hindrance to my becoming a Christian, so I made up my mind to confess Him (immediately).

In some cases it is not easy to decide from the replies the time when conversion really happened. As already alluded to in the earlier part of the book, there was here also a double experience, the first of which was more or less unsatisfactory. With a few the actual experience at conversion seems less of a crisis than some later experiences. Two instances will suffice here as the matter will be referred to later in another connection.

M 18. 'As far as I can recollect it was at eighteen years of age, and was the final outcome of a long conflict with sin. There were many relapses after the conversion, followed by temporary loss of peace and assurance. But amid the relapses I had at least two more "conversions". The last of these occurred only two years ago in S—, at a communion service. It seemed to have been effected by that beautiful hymn, "O Love Divine, how sweet thou art". The singing of this hymn produced a most wonderful effect on my mind. It filled me with an intense joy that for the time being I could not pray coherently, and I had an assurance of complete reconciliation with God.'

M 17. 'At 17 I went to a camp meeting and was deeply impressed by the addresses I heard there. I certainly made a

step forward there, but I cannot say of what character it was. At eighteen I went to M—to study for my B A, and I was appointed President of the Student Christian Union there. The responsibility of this weighed upon me, and drove me to more serious thoughts regarding religion and my attitude to it, and it was there during my nineteenth year that, I believe, I really decided to serve Christ. There was no special emotion or feeling connected with it, and I had no deep sense of wrong doing or of sin to seek deliverance from. But five years later at a convention I came to see my need of a full surrender and took a definite further step forward. Four years later still, last year, I had to read a paper on the baptism of the Holy Ghost and I can truly say that I received a deep blessing in so doing. I got more real help for myself than I was able to give to others.

From these various extracts some of the reasons will be evident why so many found it difficult to reply to the questionnaire. That there are wide varieties of experience was to be expected, but it would appear as if many of the variations both in the type of conversion and the time of it are closely related to the manner and matter of the teaching given to the children and youth. In a reply to a questionnaire on adolescence sent out some years ago, one of the closest students of child nature in the East replied, 'Non Christian boys (Ceylon) are most emphatically more responsive to Christianity during adolescence than before. The first religious awakening seems to me to come at about thirteen years of age or a little earlier. Decision is made usually about sixteen, chiefly because the first impulse is nipped in the bud by mission policy which is very infidel in this respect. Most of our missionaries need a course in the psychology of religion, and we all need to revive our belief in the Holy Spirit.' This criticism is of especial interest in the light of the facts revealed above.

THE FORCES THAT PREPARED THE WAY

Whatever character the conversion itself may bear, whether it be sudden or gradual striking in its accompaniments or apparently commonplace the leap into the new life is made from a foundation already in the soul. For some time it may have been for years material has been accumulating, material which is inflammable and it needs but a spark to set it ablaze and to transform it. Influences of childhood have not been forgotten the touch of a mother's hand the memories of a mother's prayer, the genuine religion of a father have made impressions that are indelible. Or again early association with a fine sincere personality and the early introduction to religious teaching of a dynamic character do their work upon the soul unseen and unnoted but none the less deeply important.

It was true in New Testament days. The spiritual day dreams of a Nathaniel the moral earnestness of a Peter, the hunger of soul of a John strengthened by contact with the Baptist prepared the way for an enthusiastic response to the Divine Call. Saul of Tarsus saw the triumphal death of the earliest martyr and the spiritual heroism of many lesser folk and his self satisfaction was destroyed his confidence shaken and the divine goad pricked him sore until in the shock of that collision with Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus he was made a new man.

The environment is reflected in the experience and certain of its forces exercise a powerful effect. These influences it is true, may be transitory, and the response that the soul makes to them weak and ineffectual against its own habits and affections. But on the other hand they may strike fire within and awaken aspirations that in their turn become potent factors in

the task of driving the soul on towards God. Conversion, then, is a crisis with usually a long history behind it which must be taken into account if we are to gauge accurately the full meaning of the experience.

The forces that under the mighty Spirit of God lead to conversion may be divided into those that are external to the individual life, and those that are internal, the response of the heart to the environment. The three greatest influences on a young life that are external are those of the Home, the Church or its equivalent, and the school. In a sense these are distinct, and yet it is no easy task to distinguish them from each other. For when we attempt to state their relative values as revealed in a collection of records such as these under review a great diversity of testimony becomes apparent. Grouping very roughly, out of 325 records available, 152 may be classified as influences exerted by the Home (and its environment), 104 by the Church and sixty-nine by the school. But such an arrangement is too general to be of much value, and it will be more possible to grasp the significance of the various influences if they are dealt with more particularly.

One hundred and seven replies mention *persons* as exercising the greatest influence in the years preceding conversion (Table II.)

What may be termed home influences are the most prominent here, and then comes the influence of the missionary. M. 20. 'An acquaintance with the private life of Mr and Mrs H— played an important part in drawing me to Christ . . . I could not but be impressed by the sweet home life of a true Christian family.' So writes one man from a Hindu home. Other similar extracts may be added to it. M. 19. 'At the age of twelve I went to a Mission School and during my three years there I was greatly attracted by the simple and humble godliness of the missionary

	Father	Mother	Husband	Other near re lative	Missionary (Male)	Missionary (Female)	Missionary Professor	Teacher	Other Indian Christians	Friend	Non-Christian Teachers
<i>Christian</i>											
Males ..	4	12	.	2	4	7	2	3	2	6	.
Females	1	2	1	1		2	.	.	14	.	1
<i>Non-Christian</i>											
Males ..	1	3	..	4	13	1	6	5	9	4	4
Females	...	...	2	...	..	1	...	1	2	1	...
Totals ..	6	17	3	7	17	11	8	9	14	11	4
	33			36			25				

TABLE II

Showing the persons who exercised the greatest religious influence

in charge. Do what I would, and I was particularly mischievous and trying, he never lost his temper; his utmost sincerity and lack of hypocrisy was a source of constant surprise to me' M.—'I was first drawn to Christianity by the humility of a missionary at J—, who was preaching in a bazaar opposite the Government School. A blind Muhammadan showered on him a veritable hail of silly questions about the conception and birth of Christ, but the explanation was given in a very humble, gentle spirit. At that time I was inclined towards the Arya Samaj' M. 21. 'When I was studying for my F.A. I started a rival Sunday School in front of the Mymensing Gospel Hall and began teaching the children *Gita*, and thus drew about 160 boys out of 200 from the Christian Sunday School. My principal work was to persuade people to shut their doors against the missionaries. One day I severely persecuted the missionary and his band and became afraid of police prosecution. Finding that no police came I saw the missionary and wanted a copy of the New Testament to learn myself of this forgiving love.'

The influence of the lives of other Indian Christians outside the family circle is 12 per cent of the whole, as shown here, a fairly satisfactory proportion, especially as with the addition of 'friends', mostly Indian Christians presumably, the percentage rises to almost 25 M. 21. 'In 1888 I went to R— to work with a contractor. Near the Mission High School I occasionally saw an Indian minister preaching. His forbearance and love made a great impression on me' F.—'I was greatly attracted to Christianity by noticing that Christians lived more peaceably among themselves than those of other religions, and they behaved gently.' M.—'I was influenced by closely watching my uncle who was a convert to Christianity.' M.—'A Christian family I met

attracted me towards Christianity.' M. 16. 'I was greatly influenced by my teachers at the High School who were Hindu converts and also by Mr. N—, the principal. But especially by an ex soldier of the British army who worked at the School and College as gymnastic instructor. He was a most earnest Christian, and his happy smile won me.' M—'It was the simple, pure and consistent life of one of my Christian masters that attracted me towards Christianity. He was a very earnest and self denying teacher, and a very zealous preacher, too.'

In the cases of those who were influenced by non Christian religious teachers it was evidently in the direction of a purer faith in each case, a step in the right direction. One may be taken as typical. M. 16. 'I was influenced by followers of Sankarabarya to believe in one Supreme Being, so had no reverence for the idols.'

Books are mentioned as exercising the greatest religious influence prior to conversion by seventy-three of those under consideration. (Table III)

Of those who mention the Bible, several speak of particular books of the Bible, Matthew, Romans, John. The portion of Scripture most frequently specified by non-Christians, however, is the Sermon on the Mount! M. 20. 'I studied the Bible very diligently and carefully. I would not skip even the dry and tedious genealogies. I can even now cite an instance which my good tutor noticed, for the first time, something worth our thought even in a genealogy. I read very critically and would not allow a word or a sentence to pass until I was fully satisfied I had found its meaning.'

Among the specific Christian books referred to are Pike's *Early Piety*, Spurgeon's *Sermons*, Thomas À Kempis, and *Steps to the Altar*, all given by young people from non-Christian homes. *Pilgrim's Progress*, however, is evidently

	Bible	Specific Chris- tian Books	Chris- tian Bio- graphy	Other Chris- tian Books	Tracts	Moral Teach- ing in Govern- ment School Books
Christian— Males ...	3	5	1	2		
Females ...	3	2	1	1		
Non Christian— Males ...	28	5	...	7	11	
Females ...	1	..	1	1		1
Totals	35	12	3	11	11	1

TABLE III

Showing the Books which exercised the greatest religious influence

a favourite, being mentioned seven times. ¶ 16 I loved the *Basket of Flowers* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, both of which were presented to me by my uncle to whom I was especially attached. The latter I did not know then was an allegory. I read it over and over again (in my own vernacular).' M. 10. 'As a child I loved to read the *Pilgrim's Progress* though I did not know at that time that it was allegorical or had any connection with the Bible or Christian living.'

Some were influenced for Christianity by reading non Christian books! M — 'I read a Hindu prophetic book and was induced by it to search for a Saviour. It said that a great race is coming who will make water run up hill, build vehicles that are self propelling, etc., that race will be the true worshippers of Siva, and their *guru* the long expected *guru*. And so I believed that Jesus Christ was this reincarnated Siva Guru.'

The fourth table of these external forces contains *places, happenings*, etc., that exerted the greatest religious influence. This is the largest of the three groups including 143 replies.

Careful consideration of these tables leads to the impression that the vast majority attribute their conversion to the quiet ministries of the home life and to the regular services of the Church.

Fourteen only of those who reply actually give the school as the predominant religious influence, but to that must be added nine who give 'Teacher' and eight 'Missionary Professor', making thirty one in all. As a matter of fact there are indications in many of the others of the influence of the Christian school or college, and in that connection it is well to realize that the great majority of these, as of all Indian Christians, spent some years under regular Christian teaching in school. (Table IV.)

Of the 146 men and women from Christian homes only one definitely states that he was not educated in a Christian school, while thirteen do not allude to it. Of the men and women from non Christian homes who became converts, sixty five actually say that they attended a Mission School, and of the remainder only about fifty appear never to have done so. The time spent at such schools is shown in most cases to be considerable, the average length of time being for

	CHURCH				HOME			SCHOOL			Hospital	Undertaking, Religious service	Christian music and Hymns
	Regular Church Services	Dedicate Sermon	Other Church Meetings C E etc	Sunday School	YMCA	Home	Death of another	Sickness	Orphan	School	Western Teaching Mission School		
Christian													
Males	24	8	4	10	2	26	2	3		3		2	2
Females			4			6				1			1
Non Christian													
Males	14	6		4		1	2	1	1	9	1	1	2
Females							1			1		1	
Totals	38	14	8	14	2	33	5	4	1	14	1	2	5
	76					43				15			

TABLE IV

Showing the places happenings etc which exercised the greatest religious influence

Christian males and females ten years and nine years for non Christians six and a half and seven years, respectively.

Closely allied with the chief religious influences in the years preceding conversion are the replies given to the question, 'What kind of teaching interested you most in those years?' The answers are given in Table V

The great emphasis laid on stories of one sort or other will be noted. Four replies say, 'the stories my mother used to tell me'. Interesting glimpses into Hindu homes are given in some of the replies. M 16. 'The teaching that interested me most in my early days was the stories of Hinduism; especially stories from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* as told by my mother and elder sister'. M 22. 'When a boy many a time I shed tears while reading or hearing read pathetic parts of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.' M — 'I used to take great delight in reading the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. It was my practice to read them to my female relatives who were unable to read for themselves, as female education had scarcely then made its appearance. The widows especially used to hear me read these books with special attention and interest. The fictitious and romantic stories of these books were very amusing to me also and still are so, though I have now no faith in them. As a "reader boy", my services were in constant requisition among the women, and I was a great favourite with them, and used to get the lion's share of sweetmeats.

Evidential and philosophical teaching proved attractive mostly to non Christian college students, as might be imagined. M 18. 'I commenced to read the Bible and the evidences which proved its genuineness and authenticity. I cultivated the acquaintance of educated Native converts and European

missionaries . . . For three years I continued my enquiries¹ Ethical teaching, too, attracted that class, who contrasted it with the teaching of their sacred books. In one or two cases young people from Christian homes mention this form of teaching as favourite. M 10 'You may find it hard to believe but it is none the less true that from a very early age I was never satisfied unless a Scripture reading was followed by practical moral lessons. I simply hated my Sunday School¹ and was glad when it was over.' Two ex-Buddhists give 'Christian teaching concerning Creation' as that which had most interest for them in pre-conversion days.

To measure the effect of these external forces that led to decision for Christ attention needs to be turned to the ideals and aspirations awakened in the hearts of those under consideration. Change in life means change in moral valuations and moral valuations are not the product of a moment. They come with most by slow and gradual growth. There is a striking phrase used in the Parable of the Sower, 'The seed should spring and grow, he knoweth not how.' Even to the skilled farmer the striking and the sprouting of the seed is a mystery. Down in the dark earth there are changes going on with which he dare not meddle. And it so in the Kingdom of God. The little child sits apparently unmoved by the Bible story, the class of youths seem to be beyond the influence of our words and then all at once the blade appears. Growth is progressive, moral and spiritual progress is never hasty. Those remarkable words used by the Apostle Paul in Galatians seem to have a close connection with this when he says, 'My little children, of whom I travail again in birth until Christ be formed in you.'

¹ The reference is apparently to catechetical teaching

One method of ascertaining the response of the spirit to the external influences is by discovering the heroes of youth. For during the early teens especially there is a hero, an ideal man or woman who is enthroned. This represents the gathering ideal of the young life, for while it is usually associated with the name of some historic or living person, that personality but serves as a focus for the idealizing, as a gathering point for the yearnings and desires that have found a place within the heart. The ideal in the young mind may be very different from the actual, as for instance, when the youth gives 'Napoleon' as his ideal, it is not the Napoleon of the historian but the Napoleon of the poet, a personality somewhat akin to the real, but modified and glorified to suit the need of the moment. Some striking characteristics of Napoleon have been seized upon as creating or satisfying the new aspirations of the soul, and the historic personality becomes the rallying point for the desires and the day dreams that mark the progress of the moral ideal.

In many cases the personality chosen is unworthy of all the honour conferred upon it, and the realization of this brings about a change of dynasty. And in that change there is the sure sign of moral progress. Says one teacher in Western India, 'My hero at first as a boy was a celebrated wrestler. Later it was a missionary.' With many, however, there is no change. The earlier choice is sufficient to bear the growing honours thrust upon it until the claims of Christ become strong enough to engross the soul. Occasionally it is a particular aspect of Christ himself that claimed the early allegiance, and around which there gradually clustered the fuller vision of the Master.

Especial difficulties were experienced in securing satisfactory replies on this subject for many had no conception of the idea of a hero in this sense. In practically every language of

the Indian Empire the word even for 'hero' is not existent. It has been possible, however, to supplement the rather meagre results in this detail obtained through the Questionnaire, by replies given at various conferences of teachers and students when thorough explanation of the term was offered. Even then sometimes as many as seventy per cent of those present could give no replies. The results are shown in Table VI in four divisions, those obtained from general sources by means of the Questionnaire (a) from Christian converts, (b) from non Christian converts, those from village teachers and workers, and those from students of higher grade seminaries.

The comparatively small number of those from non Christian homes who have replied to this question is perhaps accounted for by the lack of definite moral teaching received during their earlier and more impressionable years. A small proportion of the village workers and students will be from non Christian homes but unfortunately there is no record of that point.

The large proportion of heroes drawn from the daily environment is noteworthy, being about one half of the total. This is almost certainly due to defective teaching in which the personalities of sacred and secular history have not been portrayed in such fashion as to rivet the gaze and to awaken the admiration of the children. For while some natures will be more liable to the influence of those around them in home, church or school, familiarity, with the great majority, is apt to dispel the romance, and the far away heroes of history and story naturally appear greater and grander than any within sight. The young heart, hungry for an ideal, fastens on a teacher or other person near by, not because the value of that person is adequately realized, but because there is no other on the horizon that appears worthy of choice.

	MALES				FEMALES				Grand Totals		
	Non Christian	Christian	Village workers	Students	Totals	Non Christian	Christian	Village workers		Students	Totals
Paul	3	8	3	8	22	1	1		8	10	32
John	1	1		2	4				1	1	5
Peter	1		1		2		2			2	4
John Baptist	1	1	1		3						3
Mary Mother of Jesus								1	2	3	3
One each Stephen Zaccheus Dorcas and Good Samaritan											

TABLE VIII
Showing the New Testament Heroes

Looking at the replies in more detail, the Old Testament heroes are almost evenly divided between those who were remarkable for their courage and those whose higher virtues are more evident (Table VII)

David is prime favourite, as might be expected, Joseph, Daniel and Samuel coming next. Perhaps the most surprising is Solomon, though the key to this choice is given in the form of some of the replies, 'Solomon, his wisdom

Comparatively few New Testament characters are named, one in all, one of them being a personage from a parable Paul dominates, and it is interesting to note that those who mention him are almost entirely from the student classes (Table VIII)

The heroes from Indian history are given by those who were converted from non-Christian systems. They include some of the prominent figures in Indian mythology and history. Five give Rama, two of these being women, four give Mohammed, three Sivaji, two Sita, and two Krishna. Each of the following are given by one person. Vivekananda, Kabir, Husain, Buddha, Akbar, Queen Jijabai (mother of Sivaji), and a noted Tanjore poet.

Those from foreign history comprise a rather wide selection. From History proper are Charles XII, Gladstone, Napoleon (three), a Muhammedan conqueror, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin (two), Clive (two), Joan of Arc (two). Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Isaac Newton, St Augustine, Luther, Florence Nightingale (five) and Queen Victoria (three). From modern India there are Pandita Ramabai (six), Tilak, a Sikh leader, an educated Brahmin, a successful Indian evangelist, and Gokhale. The remainder are missionaries and preachers, Moody, Livingstone (four) Chalmers, Judson (two), George Muller and Thomas Walker.

The heroes from daily life are largely missionaries, teachers and relatives (Table IX)

Closely associated with the heroes of youth is the answer to the question, 'What in Christ's Life or Person most attracted you during the years preceding conversion?' The replies made to this, supplemented by some from another source, are distributed on Table X.

It is evident from this table that the Love, Death and Saving Power of Christ, three closely related aspects of His story, are by far the most prominent factors in the attraction He exerts. This is natural. His death is sure to be very potent because it reveals as nothing else does the awfulness of sin and the forgiving love of God. It is probable, too, that in the minds of many who answered the question there was no clear division between these three. 'He loved me and gave himself for me,' says Paul, and John says, 'Who loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood.' F. 12 writes, 'His death and saving power attracted me most at that time. The story of His death was told so nicely by a teacher that many of the children wanted to give themselves to God. I was one of them, from that time I was sensible of a desire for salvation.' M.—'I was attracted by the Cross of Christ and the blood that He shed there for sinners.' A common answer is, 'I was attracted by the fact that Christ is the only Saviour.'

At the same time the table leads to the conclusion that the stress of the teaching was upon those aspects or facts of Christ, and that others, such as His spotless purity, His leadership, courage, and beauty did not receive due emphasis. Some actually say this. M. 26 'If I remember right in those days Christ's Life and His Personality were not made much of in the instruction I passed through.' M. 15. 'His love and saving power attracted me most. I am afraid, however, that Christ was not presented to me as I could wish Him to have been.'

	Love	Death	Saving	Leaving	Trinity	Perseverance	Example	Humble	Lower	Omniscience	Courage	Forbearance	Leadership	Second Coming	Teachers
Christians	39	19	10		5	2	2	3	7		1	1	3		2
	19	10	12	1	-	1		2	1		1				3
Non-Christians															
Males	36	78	2	19	13	8	2	0	1					1	30
	4	0	4	3	2	1		3							1
Total															
	53	69	101	24	14	11		7	17	1	2	1	3	1	42

TABLE V

How some of aspects of Christianity are characterized & proved most attractive

His power attracted several, especially in the matter of His miracles. His omniscience was the aspect that laid hold of one country lad. For years he thought of it and spoke of it. 'His being above human nature,' he says, 'impressed me much. He lives in Heaven. He sees every man.'

A few speak of His Personality, by which it is supposed they mean the whole effect of His Life and Person. M 48. 'As soon as I heard, I realized His completeness. It is not always easy to make distinction in the replies between the Personality, the Purity and the Beauty of Christ. M—'The character of Jesus Christ attracted me much towards him'. M—'The character of the Teacher Christ'. M—'There was a great impression made upon me on hearing of His beautiful life'. M—'The excellence of the life of Christ'. F—'My mind was first drawn by the spotless beauty of his character.' M—'I was attracted by the sinless Saviour who is second to none'. 'My life turned on seeing the holy life of Jesus. I was enamoured. I appreciated Christ's holiness in comparison with the Hindu *Avatars*'. 'The transcendental moral character of Christ attracted me'. These are all quotations from non Christian converts.

Two speak of His renunciation as the most attractive feature. They are of Muhammadan and Hindu parentage respectively. His example and His teachings appear to have impressed non Christian youths more than those from Christian families. M 18 says 'I then began to compare the life of Christ with as much as I knew of Hinduism to see whether this religion gives any example like that. I found none'. M—'I was attracted by the sublimity of the moral teachings of Christ'. M—'The purity of the moral

teaching of Christ drew me.' M. 22. 'The perfect morality of the Gospel and the transcendental moral character of our Lord struck me more than anything else.' M. 18. 'I told my friend that Jesus was a great *guru* like Sankaracharya or Buddha. . . . While I thus became an admirer of Jesus and his ethical teachings, I was still a staunch Hindu' Those extracts, again, are all from non Christian converts

Another result of the effect of outward influences upon the individual life is seen in early attempts at prayer. Out of 104 Christian males, seventy-six say that they used to pray more or less regularly before conversion, and out of the same number of non-Christian males forty-three acknowledge praying to God before the crisis. Thirty three out of forty two females from Christian homes used to pray, and five out of thirteen females from non-Christian homes. The praying, however, is spoken of by many, especially by those from Christian families, as a formal habit only and without any vital significance. M. 12. 'I was in the habit of praying from very early years. I do not think, however, it was much more than a habit.' M. 26. 'I was in the habit of praying, but the prayers were merely mechanical, saying them while retiring at night, and at early morning while rising from bed. I cannot say that I was doing this very regularly. I did so for fear of my teachers, or superintendent or parents.' F. 14. 'I was in the habit of praying since I was five years old. After I came to school I did not pray every day. When I felt tired and sleepy I did not pray at all. I used to repeat long prayers, but not with my heart.' F. 16. 'I was in the habit of praying before my conversion because I had Christian parents and they taught me to pray. I did not know anything about the power of prayer, but just as a habit I prayed'

To some, on the other hand, the praying appears to have

been a real help. M. 21. 'I derived much benefit from secret prayers before I was converted.' M. 25. 'For four or five years before my conversion, whenever I thought I was alone, I used to talk to God, as I was; I used to spend most of my leisure time in prayer.' A Hindu girl who was converted at eighteen says, 'I learned and recited the Lord's Prayer in secret.'

Some say that they sincerely prayed to God, but it was occasional only. 'It was spasmodic,' says one. F. 12. 'I have always believed in prayer—in danger and need I always prayed and received answers, but I never prayed except in danger or need.' F. 16. 'My habit of prayer was very fitful. Sometimes I prayed, sometimes I did not care about it at all.' F.—(A Hindu girl). 'The book "Steps to the Altar" started me praying in the Christian way.'

Special needs drove some to prayer. M.—'I used to pray as a habit, but not regularly. When I was eight years old my father was taken very ill and likely to die. I was told that if he died I could not go to boarding school. So I went into a room and prayed most earnestly for my father's recovery. He got better . . . Prayer became more regular about seventeen.' M. 20. 'I was not in the habit of praying, but I was forced to pray on special occasions and my prayers were heard.' M. 26. 'The only sincere prayer I can remember before conversion was on a bed of sickness; others were merely formal.' M. 14. 'I used to pray occasionally, when things went wrong with my studies. And once when my father was ill.' 'A Hindu lad of twelve under Christian instruction saw a boy fall from a tree and die. He says, "I went to the spot and a great fear came over me that I might die unprepared. I went home and prayed earnestly that God would show me how to have my sins forgiven." He was converted six years later.'

A few tried to get peace of soul through prayer. M. 15. 'I used to pray and do all sorts of Christian outward rites in order that I might think myself a true Christian.' M. 32. 'I kept up the habit of prayer, but it brought me no relief. I was making a Saviour of prayer, and no wonder it was a failure'

Many speak of praying in public as children and almost all with regret. 'I did it to show off,' says one M. 20 'I used prayer in public, not in its true sense—just a repetition of words to satisfy the people It was not a heart's desire to commune with a living God' M. 20. 'I occasionally offered a real prayer, prompted by fear of punishment But I used to take part frequently in prayer in school. They were not in any sense real prayers, though'

Several Hindus and Muhammadans who became Christians had very interesting experiences in prayer. A few prayed to their old gods. M.—'I was seeking a Government appointment, and I sought the favour of my Hindu gods, as my fathers had done before me I bathed every morning and prayed to the images of Ganesa by going round its temples, but there was no result Having learnt something of the Christian way of worship at the high school I took my case to the Almighty and asked Him in truth day and night that my endeavour might be effectual My prayer was answered in a fortnight' M.—'When I first saw Christians praying to God, I called upon many Hindu gods and began to pray to them like my Christian friends.' F. 24. 'My only prayer was to constantly repeat a couplet from Hindu scriptures.' M. 19. 'I was in the habit of praying before conversion This was not only the *namaz* or the repetition of Arabic words which were mostly unintelligible to me, but prayer in the sense we Christians take it, was regularly offered by me very often after the recital of *namaz*, or under separate circumstances. Yet this prayer was far different from prayer as I

now understand it' M — 'I used to pray in my childhood to the Hindu gods and goddesses for relief from my little troubles and difficulties' Some prayed definitely to God even while they yet saw him afar off M 16 'At that time I knew nothing about praying Fearing my mother and the other people about I used to take a *lota* of water into the garden and alone I used to speak to God in this way, O God, if thy way is right then show it to me, if the Hindu religion is not right, then make it clear to me what religion is right I always used to speak in this way I did not understand the Christian religion, I only kept repeating in this way asking Him to show the way to me, a simple child' M — 'I prayed to God secretly to reveal the truth'

The replies to Question No 11 f—(b)¹ yield very little material for consideration Out of 146 Christian respondents, thirty six say that they considered themselves true Christians before they had an experience of conversion In a few cases this was probably the fact owing to the nurture of the Christian home F — 'I was brought up as a Christian child and my mother gave me Christian training from my childhood—and I always felt that I was a true Christian Of course I was born again when I began to think about things seriously' But with others it was a form of misapprehension, as serious as it is common, concerning the meaning of true Christianity. M 21 'I did not know before my conversion what it means to be a true Christian I simply thought that as "I was a son of a minister I was a real Christian"' M 26 'I thought I was a Christian because my parents were Christians, and because others treated me as such M 18 'Some times I tried to console my conscience that I am a Christian as I was going to Church, reading Bible, saying my prayers, attending many services and meetings But my conscience said, No'

¹ See Appendix I

THE MOTIVES THAT LED TO CONVERSION

This is perhaps the point of greatest importance in a study of Conversion in India, since herein is revealed more clearly than in any other group of facts the attitude of the Indian mind towards the things of God and of Christ. And yet it is just here that the greatest difficulties are encountered. Memory has so little that is objective to assist it, and is forced to depend almost entirely upon a judgement passed upon its own actions years after they have been committed. Starbuck met this difficulty in his investigation. 'Most persons,' said he, 'have little power of introspection, memory of past events is imperfect, at best, the descriptions of subjective events are poor accounts of what has happened. . . the personal equation of the student is certain to enter into the results, the difficulties of analysis where facts are so complex. And so when the question is asked as to the motives that compelled so great a step as that of decision for Christ the most honest and sincere of people may fail to read the facts of their lives correctly.

Yet there is no other way but that of direct question and answer, and the only assistance that the student can expect in correctly interpreting the answers given is that afforded by the general spiritual history of the persons concerned where that is obtainable.

The replies of 485 persons are available for purposes of comparison, most of them direct answers to Question IIa in the Questionnaire.¹ The motives most frequently mentioned are

¹ See Appendix I

Fears of Hell or of Death, Conviction of Sin, Desire for Satisfaction, Example and Pressure of Others, and the Love of Christ. Some typical examples chosen at random from the mass will indicate the character of the replies.

Fears—(Non-Christian) F. 18. 'I had a great fear of hell and future punishment from hearing the words of the Biblewoman and from seeing a picture of hell fire' M. 14 'I had a startling impression of the Judgement Day while in the infant class, and this made me eventually decide for Christ.' M. 16. 'Fear of Hindu hell, and desire to obtain a salvation by which I could escape the endless reincarnations of Hinduism,' M.—'I had begun to fear hell, and being convinced that Christ is the only Saviour I took refuge in Him' (Christian) F. 17. 'The chief motive with me was fear of the Judgement Day.' F. 16. 'At school I was converted on account of a dream which I had which was very fearful. It was about the last Judgement.' F. 18 'Hearing that I could not enter heaven with my sin I was afraid.'

Sense of Need and Desire for Satisfaction—(Non-Christian) M. 23 'Day by day the feeling grew that there was something lacking in me that I had not got—I was miserable. M.—'Christianity seemed to satisfy all my spiritual cravings' (Christian) F. 18 'A feeling of dissatisfaction with myself sprang up within me, and grew stronger as I was introduced to the Saviour by my teacher. This intensity of feeling and desire lasted about a month until the want was satisfied'

Service.—M. 33 'It was the strongest desire that India should be given a new faith which might elevate her that led me to embrace Christianity. Finding that Jesus was far superior to the ideal man I had created in my own mind . . . I followed Him. The first line of a hymn I composed at that

time, indicates with what object I presented myself for baptism Translated into English it runs thus

Dear land of Hind my dear land of Hind

For thy sake I offer my life to Jesus Christ

I wished to start work among my own countrymen as soon as I was baptized Whether it was seeking Christ or serving my country I could not say *

Love of Christ —(Christian) M 18 'It was the love of Christ that drew me to Him' F 12 The motive with me was that I wished to love Christ and be beloved by Him

Search for truth —(Non Christian) M 19 'The natural yearning for divine things led me to the search after truth M —' First of all it was this that drew me to Christianity that this religion is true and that it is from God

Sense of Duty —(Christian) F 16 'When I realized that God had a purpose for me in life to fulfil which I was placed in the world, I resolved to find out a way of leading this higher life I may best describe this purpose as a sense of duty M 26 I found the call of Christ so clear that I could not disobey Him and therefore I determined to lead a higher life A remarkable case of a Hindu (or Animist?) is M 24 With a motive of being good leaders among our fellows and in order to set an example my friend and I sought Christ, feeling that He had called us

Example of Others —(Non Christian) M —' I witnessed the baptism of my brother and the Holy Ghost commenced shining in my heart showing me that I was a sinner M 18

The Example of Christian brethren led me to decide for Christ' (Christian) F 12 At a large confession meeting many were praying very loudly, and asking forgiveness I also then prayed and received His pardon F 18 The example of my pious mother and the desire to follow her footsteps led me to give myself to the Lord' F 11 'Our lady

missionary's example in constantly reading her Bible and praying led me to seek a higher life' M. 16 'The example of my father as told me by Dr. T—gave me such an impulse as made me decide for Christ.'

Desire to be among True Christians—(Non Christian) M. 16. 'I became a Christian to be one among the true Christians' (Christian). M. 18. 'The most marked motive that led me to seek a higher life was this—I thought my father and his brothers and my mother were all good Christians, so of course I thought it better to be a Christian, too.'

Hope in Christianity.—(Non Christian) M—'I became a Christian because of the universal brotherhood in Christianity without caste distinction, not found in Islam or Hinduism'

Shock at Hinduism—M—'In the college we were obliged to read the Bible in the classes. But after having read the verse in our turn, we used to enjoy ourselves in pinching one another and doing such mischief as we could without drawing the attention of the Bible teacher. One day a Christian boy broke the sacred thread of a Hindu class fellow during the Bible period. Now, according to the Hindu religion, one might only wear a new thread by having taken a bath in the river Ganges, and by special service from the pundits which would render the new thread sacred. In the meantime until the new thread was obtained, the person was not only to fast but might not even swallow his *salita*, and might not even cry out on pain of losing his religion. So the boy complained to the Bible teacher in dumb language and requested leave; but the teacher, ignorant of Hinduism, wished to hear his complaint in speaking, and when he refused severely punished him. After a while the other students explained to the teacher, and the student was then allowed to leave the school room. This scene had a great effect upon me and I thought

it a weakness of the Hindu religion, and from that time I began to consort with Christians '.

In Table XI the replies are analysed, and to facilitate the work of comparison they are given in percentages and not in absolute numbers. There were actually 146 replies given by males and fifty-five by females from Christian homes; and 259 and twenty five respectively from non-Christian homes. The danger was realized that the terminology used in the question might be repeated in the *answers* and therefore a wide range, of motives was suggested. In another questionnaire sent out, replies to which are included here, fewer terms were evidently employed, and thus exactly similar phrases frequently occur in the answers.

Subjective Forces are seventy four per cent of the whole as against Objective Forces twenty six per cent. Fears are prominent being nearly thirteen per cent of all the replies made. Hope was only mentioned by two persons. Self-regarding motives are fifty-three per cent of the whole. Conviction for sin is only shown in the table as fifteen per cent, but it was mentioned or implicit in many more than is represented by that figure, as will be shown later. This percentage only indicates those replies in which it was given as the principal compelling motive that led to Christ. The items included under the title Higher Ideal account only for twelve per cent of all the replies, and even if there be added to them those termed Altruistic the total is still only twenty one per cent. The influence of others either in the way of example or of pressure is mentioned in one fifth of all the answers.

Fears are alluded to more frequently by females than by males in both the Christian and non Christian columns, while Conviction for Sin is almost twice as prominent a principal factor among males as among females. The most noticeable

	CHRISTIAN		NON CHRISTIAN		Totals percentage
	Males percentage	Females percentage	Males percentage	Females percentage	
SUBJECTIVE					
<i>Self Regarding—</i>					
<i>Fears</i>	15	20	9	16	13
Hope in Christianity			2		1
Sense of need or desire for satisfaction	9	5	31	20	21
Remorse and conviction for sin	14	10	24	8	18
<i>Altruistic—</i>					
Service	4	4			2
Love of Christ awakening responsive					
Love	9	17	5	8	7
<i>Higher Ideal—</i>					
Search for Truth					
Desire for Nobler Life	8	4	5	4	3
Longing for Purity	1	2	2	4	4
Sense of Duty or Divine Impulse	4	2	2		2
Deliberate choice	1		1		1
OBJECTIVE					
Example or Imitation of others	21	23	6	20	13
Influence of others	10	9	4	4	7
Haired of or shock at idolatry	1		4		3
Desire to be among true Christians	3	4	1	4	2
Hope of Temporal Betterment			1	12	1

TABLE XI

Showing the Motives that Led to Conversion

	MALES FROM CHRISTIAN HOMES					FEMALES FROM CHRISTIAN HOMES				
	To 12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25	To 12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25
SUBJECTIVE										
<i>Self Regarding—</i>										
Fears	4	8	8	2	1	5	4	1	1	
Hope in Christianity										
Some of Need or Desire for satisfaction	2	1	8	1	1		1	1	1	
Conviction for Sin	2	5	7	3	3	2	3			
Totals	8	14	23	6	5	7	8	2	2	
<i>Altruistic—</i>										
Desire for service		4	2	1		2	2			
Love of Christ awakening love to response	3	3	2		1	4	4	1		
Totals	3	7	4	1	1	6	6	1		
<i>Higher Ideal—</i>										
Search for Truth					1					
Desire for Nobler Life	2	4	3	2	1		1	1		
Longing for Purity		1	1			1				
Sense of Duty or Divine Impulse		2	2		1		2			
Deliberate Choice			2		1					
Totals	2	7	8	2	4	1	3	1		
OBJECTIVE										
Example of others	9	6	12	1	1	6	2	1	1	
Pressure or Influence of others	7	6	6			1	4	2		
Hatred of Idolatry or shock at Hinduism	1									
Desire to be among true Christians			2				2			
Hope of Temporal Betterment										
Totals	17	12	20	1	1	7	8	3	1	

MALES FROM NON CHRISTIAN HOMES						FEMALES FROM NON CHRISTIAN HOMES						TOTALS						RESULTS FROM SECOND LIST	
To 12	13-16	17 20	21-25	Over 25		To 12	13 16	17 20	21 25	Over 25		To 12	13 16	17 20	21 25	Over 25		Non Christ an	
1	4	9	2	2		1	1	1	1			11	17	19	6	3			M
				1												1		8	F
	4	12	4	5						2		2	6	21	6	8		54	3
		10	5	6					1	1		4	8	17	9	10		38	
1	8	81	11	14		1	1	1	2	3		17	81	87	21	22			
												2	6	2	1				
1	3	3		1		1						8	11	6		2		5	1
1	3	3				1						10	17	8	1	2			
		3	3	2					1					3	4	3		6	
		1	4	1								2	5	4	2	1		5	
			1	2								1	1	2	4	1		1	1
			1										4	2	1	3			
													3			1			
5	8	5							1			3	10	13	11	9			
2	6	3				1				2		16	10	19	5	3		5	1
4	3						1					8	15	11				4	
		1	4	3								1		1	4	3		4	
2	1					1						1	4	3					
1								2					1	2					
9	11	7	3			2	1	2		2		26	30	36	9	6			

point enforced by the comparison is the wide prevalence with non Christian males of a scarcely definable sense of need and desire for satisfaction. The contact with Christianity had made impossible for them the old way and had awakened a soul hunger that was difficult to accurately define, but which was far from vague in actual experience. With some it sharpened until it became an acute sense of sin, but with many the actual consciousness of sin was evidently a later growth.

The influence of others as a deciding factor is more frequent among Christians, than non Christians, which is to be expected. The latter have to face greater difficulties in stepping out for Christ, and require the compulsion of a stronger motive. They feel the influence of others—it is generally the influence of the missionary or teacher they speak of—but the result is with most the fostering of some dormant sense of sinfulness or spiritual aspiration which speedily fills the whole area of consciousness.

It is rather surprising that so few from non Christian homes refer to the revulsion from idolatry as a predominating influence. In a few cases it is to be supposed that the actual touch with idolatry itself, at least in its more repugnant aspects, was slight. In all probability, however, the fact is that it occurs in most experiences, but it becomes largely obscured as time goes on by some positive motive before conversion takes place.

Further light upon the motives that lead to conversion may be got by analysis according to the age of decision, taking for our purpose the division of the life into five periods. Unfortunately the replies from the second questionnaire referred to already give no records of the age of conversion and those results are therefore shown in a separate column. They are all from non Christians. * (Table XII)

There is, on the whole, an unexpected similarity in the incidence of the figures for each section, the age seventeen to twenty being evidently that in which motives ripen. Among those brought up in Christian homes decision under sixteen would seem to be the natural result of religious nurture and of the influence of other personalities. Conversions during the period seventeen to twenty show evidence of inner conflict and emotional storm, with consciousness of self more marked. These over twenty may be said to be of a more intellectual type when larger knowledge gives a deeper insight into the values of life. We might expect the altruistic cases to come under this period, but the earlier ages given link this love for others on to the new outburst of powers that comes with the entry into adolescence.

There are two roads that men have trod when seeking Christ—one leads up the shining hill to where the Saviour waits with blessing, and the other goes through the dark valley where gloom and thick darkness abound, and where the soul trembles with fear. By the one road Christ is found through the search after nobleness and purity of life, and by the other peace and purity are found through Christ. There may be scarcely a sense of incompleteness in the soul or there may be a terrible struggle with sin before an entry is made into the kingdom. The sense of sin may be awakened in a human heart only after it is brought into close contact with the Lord of Glory as in the case of Peter, or the consciousness of sin may spring forth like a lion ready to slay, as with the jailor at Philippi. The measure of this consciousness of sin, howsoever it is caused, is usually the measure of the depth of the religious life that follows. And therefore, according to Professor James, the two main facts of all experiences of

conversion are (a) the uneasiness (concerning sin) and (b) its solution

Again, this sense of sin may be the product of a moment, begotten perhaps in the tense emotion of a striking sermon or in the reading of a book or a tract, or it may be the slow gathering product of time, increasing in depth and strength with the years until its burden becomes intolerable and relief is sought

In these records with which we are dealing the consciousness of sin cannot be said to be strong. Out of 263 detailed cases of conversion only 127 mention it at all in spite of a direct question on the subject¹. Even where the question is answered there is evidence of vagueness and weakness in the matter. Some brief quotations will make this clear. The first five given are by those brought up in non-Christian homes. M 22 'All the while I had not a very accurate idea of sin. F 32 'Before marriage I had no consciousness of sin—after marriage because of the trials of living with a mother-in-law I became oppressed with the burden of sin. F 20 'I knew it was a sin to worship idols. M 19 'I was conscious of sin but not weighed down with it. M 24 'I was not conscious of sin for some time—even after conversion. But since I was called to lead a small church I found it burdensome and was grieved. M 15 'I had a little consciousness of sin but I did not think I was sinful because I did not commit any open sinful acts yet I used to suffer from depression and loss of sleep and appetite. M 26 'I was conscious that some things I did were wrong but I had not the conviction that they were sinful. M 29 'I was conscious of my sin now and then, not out of fear of God but out of respect for my character'. I. 16 'I was conscious of my sinful condition

¹ See Question II (d) Appendix I

but did not feel it the heavy burden that some do' M. 12. 'I was conscious of sin, but it did not worry me.'

Some of those who replied acknowledge that there was practically no sense of sin before conversion. In one case, that of a girl brought up in a truly Christian home, this unconsciousness of sin points evidently to a very early yielding to the influences of the Saviour. The other extracts that follow are of a very different character and less satisfactory. The last four are from non-Christians. F. 12 'I was not conscious of sin. Since I was brought up in a Christian family I was taught to be kind and loving from the beginning.' M. 16. 'I did not feel any sinfulness. I thought myself better than other boys till just before conversion. For I had a good name.' M. 23. 'At that time I had no knowledge to know these things.' M. 19. 'No, sinfulness from a Muslim standpoint has not that idea of heinousness common to a Christian.' M.—'I had only a sense of sin after I became a Christian.' F.—'I knew nothing but that Jesus will forgive sins and give eternal happiness, though at that time I had no knowledge of my own sins. I learnt that afterwards I thought I had only to be baptized and I should receive happiness'

With some there was a genuine sense of sin though it never became dominant in consciousness. M. 25. 'There was a struggle going on in my heart showing me that I was a sinner.' M. 29. 'Just before conversion and once about ten years before I was weighed down with sin and suffered from loss of sleep and appetite.' F. 14. 'When about twelve at a special service I felt my sinfulness . . . I put it off saying I am very young, but at nights I was kept awake thinking of this.' On the other hand, with a few, the realization of sinfulness and shame led almost to despair. Sleepless nights succeeded to burdened days; appetite for food was lost, and nothing seemed to matter much except the obtaining of relief.

M. 88 'I went so far that all human help failed.' M. 34. 'I had a deep and awful sense of sin . . . baptized in a sea of trouble, often crying out, "O, that I had never been born."' M. 23. 'I felt most anxious in mind and constantly got ill' M—'I can recall times when the thought of my sinfulness has weighed me down so that I have lain in the dust for hours crying for mercy.'

'The sense of sinfulness frequently showed itself in a Fear of Death or of Hell. That is, sin was not burdensome so much from its own intrinsic loathsomeness as because of its consequences for the sinner. There are very few cases where it was evidently a heavy weight on the conscience solely because of its nature and character' 'I realized I was a sinner,' says one girl, 'and I was afraid.' Afraid rather than ashamed may be said to be the general testimony. The earliest record of fear of consequences of sin contained in these replies is that of a Brahman who says, 'From the age of four I was burdened with sin, started by the reply of my mother to a question of mine, "What is Hell like?"—place of fire, worms bite and scorpions sting.' This remained with me all through youth, sometimes dying down, then flaring up again.'

A number of cases from both non Christians and Christians show a long struggle with ever recurring crises during which, for one reason or other, the work of the Holy Spirit was resisted in the heart and the day of salvation put off for a time. One man says, 'I tried to smother the fire, but God's grace prevailed.' Another gives his experience thus, 'Continued procrastination and antagonism between the life of thought and the life of action created in me a mental habit of indecision, so much so that in an unguarded moment it plunged me into a deadly sin. Though repentance was instantaneous . . . it had a most dulling effect on my sensitiveness to sin. . . . The moral vision was clouded.'

All those, of course, who have replied to the Questionnaire finally surrendered, but it is to be feared that many, similarly circumstanced, must have resisted to the end.

			NUMBER WHO		NUMBER WHO MENTION		
			Replied	Admit Consciousness of Sin	Depres- sion	Sleep- lessness	Loss of Appetite
<i>Christian</i>							
Males	...	...	104	49	20	7	5
Females	...	...	42	27	10	3	2
<i>Non-Christian</i>							
Males	...	...	238	91	30	7	3
Females	...	...	19	4	3	2	1

TABLE XIII

Showing the Consciousness of Sin admitted in replies to questionnaire

As to the length of time that this sin burdened condition continued, twenty-six persons speak of it having lasted for more than a year, while with five of them seven years and longer went by before rest was found. Twenty-three acknowledge definitely resisting the Holy Spirit and fighting against His gracious influence.

Very closely related to the consciousness and burden of sin, and yet not necessarily its accompaniment, is the desire for holiness, salvation, forgiveness, experienced before peace was definitely sought and obtained. This is as frequently the result of a sense of incompleteness and impotence as of a sense of sin. In these records, and they are probably with typical for India, the experiences of non-Christian con-

are on the whole much more acute and well defined than those of young people from the Christian community M 18 'Ten or eleven years before conversion I heard a Christian preacher

From that time I became interested in obtaining a pure heart This led me to be a more earnest Muhammadan but Muhammadanism failed to satisfy my hunger after heart purity' M 20 'Then I tried to do everything that was good and to obey God, but in spite of this I became worse day after day But I still had a great desire for forgiveness and cleansing M 23 'For years he was searching for the truth After having joined the Brahmo Samaj he found it left him unsatisfied While in this state of mind he would attend the mission Church and meet for prayer, till on the point of asking for baptism Then he would shrink back and discontinue prayer till irresistibly drawn again to it by a restless longing M 18 'In lord Buddha I could not find comfort I felt that to punish for wicked deeds and reward for meritorious deeds is human and not divine I was restless in mind about punishments I should receive after death I desired forgiveness for I thought it is useless to be rewarded after such severe punishments as are described in Buddhist scriptures M 21 While studying the New Testament I realized that salvation was necessary and tried to get it without becoming a Christian Every morning I resolved many things and broke them during the day I struggled six months M 26 'My period of enquiry extended over ten years M 48 'I wanted to be free from sin but did not know how'

The following are given by those from Christian homes M 11 'I was sensible of a desire for forgiveness and salvation before conversion This desire arose I think from constantly hearing at revival services and elsewhere of the absolute need of it The sight of conversions taking place at

these meetings intensified the desire I felt I too must pass through a similar experience This must have gone on between the ages of nine and eleven M 15 'I was desirous for holiness and salvation a few times, as in my twelfth and fifteenth years' M 20 'I thought little about forgiveness before my conversion, yet from boyhood I had a great desire for holiness and salvation and I thought these were obtained only by God's preordination' F 16 'I desired holiness and forgiveness, but it was not a regular continued desire This extended over a period of four years M 22 Years before my conversion when I was a mere boy of eleven or twelve years I was desirous of salvation F 12 'I was not anxious for holiness, or forgiveness before conversion With the thought that I shall one day become a Christian, I passed my schooldays peacefully' M 20 'I knew nothing about the way of salvation or forgiveness but whenever I felt my sin I wanted to lead a godly life This desire I used to have often before my conversion F 14 I always had a desire to be good and to please God'

Occasionally a more acute expression of internal dissatisfaction is met with M 26 'I was sensible of a desire for salvation one year before conversion When I was going wrong I had no peace in my heart There used to be a kind of fear always' M 17 'I was very sensible of the desire for holiness before conversion It used to haunt me wherever I went, whatever I did After any temper or harshness this desire used to drive me to my knees

Altogether out of 146 from Christian families eighty one speak of a desire for holiness and salvation continuing for some time before conversion, and out of 257¹ non Christians, 116 mention this, about one half, that is, of the total number who

¹ Including 140 from the second Questionnaire referred to in preceding chapters.

gave information on this point. The probability is that in the majority of cases it was present for a longer or shorter period before the actual crisis of decision, but that it was of so mild a type with many as to be indistinguishable after the lapse of some years. With seventy five per cent of the non Christians who speak of a period of unrest it lasted for a considerable time, varying from a year up to eleven years in length before the solution was found. With the Christians the time of unrest was not so protracted, for the immediate issues were less momentous, but still with most it exceeded a year in duration, and with about one third of them it continued for more than three years.

The attempt was made to discover the sins and temptations that had proved most powerful to those whose spiritual experiences we are considering, in the hope that this would throw further light upon the nature of the consciousness of sin. The testimony on this detail serves to emphasize the general weakness of the sense of sinfulness referred to already. About two thirds of the Christians and one third of the non Christians do not reply to the question. In very few cases is this apparently due to unwillingness to give the information, while many say plainly, 'I do not remember' or 'I do not know'. Of those who give satisfactory replies, most mentioned more than one predominating sin. (Table XIV)

Four say 'all of these,' one pathetically adds, 'I was a hopeless victim to them all.' Other answers, each given by one person, are 'bullying', 'hearing bad songs', and 'murder and brigandage'.

It will be noticed that the vast majority of sins are those generally associated with childhood and youth, especially in homes where control is weak. Overt acts such as gambling and drink are few. There is evidently a petty meanness to which the Indian child is peculiarly prone, that does not often

TABLE XIV
Showing the Predominant Temptations before Conversion

	Temper and quarrelling	Lying	Dishonesty	Disobedience	Bad Companionship	Sensuality	Laziness	Pride	Drinking	Gluttony	Bad Language	Gambling	All of these
<i>Christian</i>													
Males	21	23	11	15	20	18	8	9	1		1	1	3
Females	19	10	5	8	2		3						
<i>Non Christian</i>													
Males	10	10	7	6	10	8	3	6	5	1	1	4	1
Females	3	3	1	3	1								
Total	53	46	24	32	39	26	14	15	6	1	2	5	4

result in an acute sense of sinfulness followed by deep repentance, but that is apt to be carried over into the new life to mar its strength and beauty 'Any mean thing', says one man frankly, 'if I thought it would not be found out' 'Sometimes lying, and sometimes stealing of pencils,' says another, 'occasionally playing truant With increasing years the sins become more marked and defined M 16 'I was a naughty boy, dishonest and fond of bad company I gambled on marbles and smoked' M 48 'I was all darkness I was not free from either lying or drinking' M 49 '— was a wicked and ungovernable boy and when he left his parents he became a robber and a murderer Either as a principal or with others, he murdered more than thirty persons His natural temper was very bad' One of the most interesting replies is M 19 'I was too busy as a boy to feel the strength of temptation I worked hard, played hard and slept hard I always had ambition to be top Perhaps pride was my chief besetment'

THE CRISIS AND ITS ACCOMPANIMENTS

The explanation of what takes place in the heart and mind at the moment of conversion is not easily discovered. The process is complex. It may be viewed from the human side as the surrender of the soul to God or from the divine side as the reception by the heart of the life of God. For reasons that are fairly obvious no actual question on this point was included in the Questionnaire, for it was hoped that more useful information would be given unconsciously in the replies to the other questions. This hope has to some extent been realized though the inability to go into details on the part of most of those who have furnished replies has greatly diminished the value of the results obtained. It is not easy, again, to correctly tabulate the information gathered from the various papers. The analysis in seven classes adopted by Starbuck has been used with an eighth class for those with whom the awakening has been gradual. Some extracts from the records will best illustrate the division.

Surrender, Yielding—Conversion with many is not primarily a conviction of mind neither is it principally an emotional experience, but a change of attitude towards God, and self surrender is the final step that leads to the uplands of eternal life. It may be but a small step the last of many that led upward, or it may be a vast step that seems to separate one from the past as by a chasm. The following cases are taken from those in which the fact of yielding after a struggle is the most marked feature of the great experience.

F 15 The catechism made me feel that I belonged to Christ, and so I gave myself fully to Him. M 20 'At an after meeting I was overpowered to go and make a confession and find my Master' M, 22 'I heard a sermon on Resisting

the Holy Spirit, and I decided for Christ, having realized that I was resisting Him'

Forgiveness. — M. 26. 'I became convinced that the greatest sinner that ever lived was I, and that Jesus Christ only could effect my salvation.' M. 20. 'I was exceeding joyful at the thought of my sins being forgiven.' M. 14. 'One of the messages of the evangelist entered into my heart and showed me that I was a great sinner. I left the Church and went to an empty room and prayed for mercy and received assurance of salvation.' M. 24. 'After special services I came home and prayed and prayed and cried on my bed in the night . . . It was at that time I decided to be the Lord's servant I felt that all my sins are forgiven.'

Public Confession. — M. 21. 'My conversion was not sudden, I had been coming to it for six months But while having a walk on a small hill and thinking about sin and salvation a feeling came to me that I must be baptized and I was a few days later.' F. 14. 'At special services I raised my hand and I fully made up my mind to follow Jesus' M. 15. 'During the universal week of prayer when those desiring to be prayed for were asked to stand.' M. 16. 'At special services I was convicted of my sins and I burst into tears and openly confessed my sins before the public and received pardon' M. 12. 'I decided to serve Jesus when I joined the Church in my twelfth year.' F. 12. 'At the time of my baptism I decided to serve Christ.'

Securing Divine Aid (other than forgiveness). M. 20. 'I prayed to God, "I do not know anything, but convince me of the truth" From that time faith entered my heart.' M. 24. 'In order to be successful in my work of teaching, I felt inclined to ask the Lord to help me.' M. 17. 'It was my constant prayer to God that He would show me the right path and give me peace of mind, and He heard my prayer.' M. 14.

'I prayed for divine help which came at once At that time I made up my mind to follow Christ'

Spontaneous Awakening of the soul to God—M 18 'I was in the Church and was looking over my Bible The verse, "Prepare to meet thy God suddenly gripped me I went home but had no peace and could not stay there I went to my office and confessed my sins and I received the forgiveness of God M 19 'I was not much attached to religion, but was one night reading a book, "Around the Wicket Gate' by Spurgeon As I went on reading my heart was touched and the burden of sins increased I continued praying and reading the Scriptures, still no awakening Then the question came to me, 'Will you accept Christ? Then my heart sprang into joy as I said 'I will M 25 While I was reading a book by Dr Pentecost I felt all my darkness removed and all my doubts cleared Immediately I knelt down and gave myself to Christ'

Determination to accept or follow Christ—M 25 'I settled it in the Siolkot Convention that I would serve God M— 'As Christ captured my heart and admiration I made up my mind to embrace Christianity M 18 'One day the teacher said, "Who will definitely stand on Christ's side? I felt I must do so and so I came over to him and took my place as a Christian M 14 'It was a matter of deliberation and settled determination' F 20 'I remember deliberately choosing to serve Christ whether I understood or not F 12 'It was the outcome of a talk with my friend when we both decided to pray together and do what we could to bring others to Christ'

Sense of Oneness with God—M 25 'One evening when returning to my home I felt as if some strong power on a sudden filled my soul with a great joy I felt convinced that Christ had accepted me as a disciple' M 20 'I was joyful at the thought that the Lord is no more a fearful King but a

loving Father.' M. 18. 'I was converted suddenly on a sick bed . . . I felt that God is my Saviour and not convicting Judge'

Gradual Awakening in which no one aspect of the experience is predominant M. 17. 'My conversion was a gradual process I can fix no time, place or incidents in connexion with it, but I know I was converted'

The relative frequency of these elements as revealed in the records under analysis is shown in Table XV. Doubtful cases, of which there are many, are omitted.

From this it will be seen that Forgiveness and Determination are the two prime elements, the one arising chiefly from conviction of sin and the other largely the result of helpful teaching and training. Difficulty was experienced, however, in this tabulation, since various elements were found side by side in the same case. A great many more, for instance, had the element of yielding or self surrender than appears in the table, but it was with few the predominating aspect of the crisis. A larger percentage should probably be found under 'Public Confession', since with many the deciding to accept and follow Christ is evidently closely associated with the decision to take the outward step it involved. Many of the cases which, because of their lack of definiteness, have been omitted, would probably come under the heading of *Gradual Awakening*. The larger percentage of non Christians shown in this class is readily understood when the circumstances are considered under which they approach Christianity. In this connexion the account of a conversion from Muhammadanism that appeared some time ago in a Church magazine is illuminating. 'A Muhammadan was baptized on Whitsunday last, a man of birth and education who for many years has been a moulvie in a regiment. . . His conversion is one of absolute conviction, a strange and wonderful story of the workings of a

	CHRISTIAN		NON CHRISTIAN		
	Males percentage of cases	Females percentage of cases	Males percentage of cases	Females percentage of cases	Totals percentage of cases
Surrender	7	3	6		6
Public Confession	4	9	8	9	7
Sense of oneness with God	4		3		3
Forgiveness	26	23	20	23	27
Spontaneous Awakening	13	9	14	13	13
Determination	24	42	23	27	26
Divine Aid	3	3	6		4
Gradual Awakening	9	11	20	18	14
Total Number of Actual Cases	91	35	95	11	232

TABLE XV

Showing the Relative Frequency of the Predominant Elements in Conversion

soul, taught of the Spirit, wrestling against conviction, flying off at a tangent, brought back to the stand point of "You know this is true," yielding point by point, turning to no human helper, yet of course influenced by many holy lives with whom he was brought into contact. Four years of awful struggle, ending, thank God, in victory. That might well be the spiritual history of any one of a great many converts.

In an earlier section comparison was made between those who speak of their conversion as sudden and those who deem it to have been gradual. It will be recalled that both in the case of Christians and non Christians the number of those who acknowledged a gradual conversion was in excess of those to whom the crisis came suddenly and unexpectedly, and that the excess was rather greater in the case of those who came from non Christian homes. This is not surprising for of course there are not really two varieties of conversion here but at least four: those who have had a sudden and a striking experience, those who seem to have grown up good and who know of no crisis, those who have naturally and quietly accepted Christ as they learned of Him and to whom there came no violent upheaval, and those with whom the acknowledgment of the inward decision was considerably delayed by the opposing force of outward circumstances. The three latter classes would all be likely to be considered by the subjects as Gradual Conversion.

The emotional nature with most was in a state of tension at the time of conversion, but with comparatively few, so far as the records reveal it, was there any great outburst of feelings. Rather more than one third of the cases do not mention any emotions at all at the time, while a few definitely say that there were none. Table XVI gives the actual numbers.

—		Joy	Peace	Relief	Satisfaction	Fear of Results	Sorrow at Parting with friends	No feeling experienced
<i>Christians</i>								
Males	..	52	13	9	3	..	..	38
Females	..	26	8	2	.	...	.	13
<i>Non Christians</i>								
Males	...	39	9	12	3	1	3	47
Females	...	7	2					4
Totals		124	32	23	6	1	3	102

TABLE XVI

Showing Predominant emotions at time of Conversion

It is rather suggestive that so emotional a people should on the whole, exhibit so little of intense feeling on an occasion of such importance. A great many speak of joy at the time, but for the most part it is quite a mild joy. There are exceptions, of course, to this, both among Christians and non-Christians, as the following extracts bear witness. The first three are from Christian homes. M 18 'I was in an ecstasy' F 25 'I felt like laughing ten times as hard as I had cried before—I felt like jumping and dancing, and I did so shouting Hallelujah! Hallelujah!' M 17 'After I had decided I was very happy almost mad with joy though lying in my bed. Happiness was the outstanding aspect of my feelings at that time—in the school room in the study, play ground, everywhere I was rejoicing' M 19 'My mind was filled with unspeakable joy' M 21 'I experienced an ecstatic joy' M 25 'Joy overflowed my heart. It is impossible to describe that joy it was as though I had found a very precious treasure. It affected not only my heart but my body also. Every one remarked on it' M 20 'My joy was a rapture or a trance. I was a changed man and everything was new to me.'

Peace and relief are not so frequently mentioned as joy, and naturally appear most in cases where there was before conversion a strong sense of the burden of sin or of doubt.

Satisfaction is not often mentioned as it is swallowed up in some stronger emotion, though traces of it are discernible in most. The cases in which it occurs as the predominant feeling are rather colourless. M 18 'I had no great feelings but a sense of satisfaction that I had done the right thing' M 16 'There was comfort in my heart. I was joyful and peaceful' M 17 'I felt satisfied and that was all.'

Fears and sorrow with non-Christians occasionally persist and almost overmaster the joy and relief of salvation. M

19 'At the time of my conversion I was in a state of excitement. Certainly there was joy. There was also fear because of my Hindu relatives. M 22 'My feelings were partly those of relief and partly those of keenly felt sorrow for parting from old friends and relations. Sometimes I feared I would go mad but prayer brought relief.

The further question was asked whether there was at the time of decision the consciousness of a great change and affirmative replies to this were few. Among those who came to Christ from the non-Christian world the consciousness of change was forced upon them by outward conditions. But among those of the Christian community only thirteen out of 150 speak of this. Even in some cases where the conversion was most genuine and has been followed by a life of unusually fine Christian character and service there is very little response to the question. M 12 'As I knelt there and sought pardon there was a distinct experience of joy—a sense of relief and gladness. I felt myself lit up with a heavenly light so to say. I do not think however, that there was a consciousness of a great change supervening—things continued pretty much as they were before. F 16 'There was no clear or startling change. M 15 I was not conscious of any unusual feelings. My state of mind was normal I should say. Nor was there any immediate consciousness of a great change. I began to understand more of God's love. M 15 'I was not conscious of a great change at once. But what I used to love that I now began to hate and what I used to hate I now began to love.

Enquiry elicited the fact that the majority of the conversions took place quietly at home or at school. Table X¹ shows the proportion analysed according to age.

	CHRISTIAN										NON CHRISTIAN										TOTALS	
	Males					Females					Males					Females					Number	Percentage
	12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25	12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25	12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25	12	13-16	17-20	21-25	Over 25		
vately	16	20	15	5	4	1	8	1	1		2	19	19	19	19				1	3	134	88
ces	6	11	5	1		10	6	1			1	5	15	3	2	1	2	2	1		72	21
	9	20	10	3	1		3	2	1		2	7	5	2	3	1			1		17	5
	6	11	18	2	3	3	3	2	1		3	1	2	1							56	16
	5	6	1								3	3	2								70	20
Totals	42	68	49	11	8	14	20	6	3		6	18	43	25	24	2	2	3	2	3	349	100

TABLE XVII

Showing Places of Converts on analysed according to age

From this table it is evident that the conversions occurring at home, in the case of children of Christian parents, are largely the result of direct home influences, while with others they are the climax of influences arising from the larger environment. The majority of non Christians who decided for Christ in the quiet of their homes are really the result of the work of the schools, for in their case we can hardly imagine home influence to have been a serious factor in their decision.

Another interesting point is that the age of conversion in ordinary services, Sunday schools and day schools, is apt to be earlier than in special services. The inference is that the former are chiefly the result of Christian training and teaching, while the latter are more catastrophic in nature. Special evangelistic services of one type or another prove as efficacious in lasting results in these records as in those from Western lands. Almost one fourth of the children from Christian homes were brought to decision through such agencies. Of these conversions, a small number happened during the revival which swept over India some years ago. Very few of those who have replied to the Questionnaire are from districts that were considerably affected by the revival movement, or there would probably have been a larger proportion of these cases.

A number of the replies tell of remarkable experiences connected with the conversion, and a selection of these may be of use here. 'Violent psychic phenomena', says Leuba, 'by their very emphasis bring to light what remains obscure in less intense and slower results'. The following are all, with the exception of the first, from the Christian community.

M 17. 'I was converted suddenly at home. Already influenced by Christian teaching, I was asked one day by my aunt to prostrate myself before a piece of burning camphor.

I did so with some hesitation, but in the very act I was converted'

F 20 'I had been brought up as a Christian, and duly confirmed I tried to live a Christian life, attended communion and gave freely to the work of the Church. When I was eighteen my brother was converted, and coming home he pleaded with me to give my heart to God. I was bewildered and said that I always had tried to please God, but certainly I had none of the peace and joy he spoke of. He left me next day and remained away for more than a year. All that time I was in deep anxiety of soul. When he returned I went to some meetings he was holding at the Salvation Army barracks. Then for another year I went on in ever increasing unhappiness. One night I attended a half night of prayer. During that meeting I had tried to pray but had failed. So when I reached home I went to my room and stayed on my knees from 11 to 3 in distress of mind. At 3, just as the stage coach went by, I suddenly found Christ. I was overwhelmed with joy and ran and awakened a servant and told her of it. I could not sleep that night.'

F 14 'I was converted at a midweek prayer meeting. The speaker told of our Saviour and His death on the cross. Oh, it was a very striking meeting! Throughout it I gave my mind and ears wholly to his words. My eyes filled with tears when I took it all in. Then he said, "Children, this is the day for salvation. Don't put off, saying you are too young. See what He has done for you!" These words cut me to the quick, and then and there I decided to be God's child'. F. 9 The following narrative of a young Christian woman is told by her father. It happened a number of years ago. 'One evening I told my children of a case I had read about where the thirteen-year old daughter of a Methodist

preacher was converted to God I also expressed the wish that all my children should be converted while they were still young After praying on the subject in their presence it dropped from my memory A month later I took my children to a Salvation Army open air meeting When we returned home, the story of the Methodist preacher's daughter was working on the mind of my little nine year old daughter She was convicted of sinfulness, though no particular sin was remembered by her She said that something (she did not know what it was) told her definitely that she did not obey God She compared herself to the lost sheep, lost coin and prodigal son and said that Jesus the Gardener spoke for her and so she was spared up to that time After a while she came to me while I was reading and threw herself on my lap weeping I thought she was ill Her eyes were very red and she could not speak at first I thought she must have a bone in her throat Then she told me in broken words that she knew she had not obeyed God and she was very afraid I spoke to her of the Saviour and we knelt down and prayed She pleaded for forgiveness of sin and rose happy and relieved She then became very excited singing and speaking, until I feared she would lose her reason As she was still singing when I put her to bed I told her that she ought to obey father by being quiet and thus show that she was converted She spoke no more and soon fell asleep Her first words when she awoke in the morning were I am no longer sad papa I am not afraid now

M 16 'I was convicted of my sin at our weekly prayer meeting But I could not decide to follow Christ and so put the matter off On the following Sunday we went to an open air meeting There I tried to speak as I had done before, but was unable to utter a word I felt a great heaviness in my heart As we returned I allowed the others to go

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VI 16 'I was convicted of my sin at our weekly prayer meeting. But I could not decide to follow Christ and so put the matter off. On the following Sunday we went to an open air meeting. There I tried to speak as I had done before, but was unable to utter a word. I felt a great heaviness in my heart. As we returned I allowed the others to get

always before my eyes I wanted to shine in the world and make a name in my professioo But God frustrated all my plans and efforts This made me think I had many friends but not Jesus Everything seemed working against me One oooo while sitting in the class before my students, not by mao nor through man, I heard a voice in my heart which was very pathetic saying, "you love all others, but you do not love me" It was the voice of Jesus I burst into tears His love broke my heart . . . I could not contain myself My students saw me crying. All kept quiet Here was a very strong young man weeping, and the cause nobody knew. I ran to a side room and there I dedicated my life to my Saviour'

M 14. 'I had gone to a place some distaoce from my home to attend a wedding, and the guests had to sleep on the Church veraodah. The Church is surrounded by thick forest on two sides. I slept on a mat, just opposite the door leading to the verandah. When the night was far advanced I was roused from sleep by the heavy footsteps of a wild beast upon the thick dry leaves. My body got wet with perspiration and fear. I did not know what to do, at last I prayed for Divine help which came at once for the animal took the direction of the forest. At that time I made up my mind to follow Christ.'

Conversion is occasionally accompanied by uousual experiences that are certainly abnormal and that in some cases border on the pathological. Dreams or visions are seen, voices are heard, strange physical sensations take place which are usually remembered with distinctness in every detail, and are naturally regarded with awe by the 'convert. There is a depth in the central experience of that great moment that constrains us to ascribe to such adjuncts as these,

and even to extravagances, an importance beyond their actual value. They may simply be uprushes of old sensations from the fringe of consciousness, but because they appeared simultaneously with the spiritual crisis, they have imparted to them a significance which sometimes at least is fictitious.

'If we are wise', says Jackson, 'perhaps we shall not greatly concern ourselves about them at all, but however we explain them they have, as Professor James says, no essential spiritual significance. They are neither a proof of the reality of the conversion nor a guarantee of its stability. On the other hand they must not be suffered to discredit the spiritual realities of which they are the occasional accessory. They are in their very nature evanescent: the thing that matters is what remains when they are gone.'

Comparatively few of those who replied to the Questionnaire mention accompaniments of the crisis that are actually abnormal. Altogether there are not more than five per cent, including the few cases given in Part I: they only number thirty two in all,¹ and six of them are merely coincidences of natural events. The analysis of the thirty two cases is shown in the following table —

	Dreams	Visions	Voices	Physical Symptoms	Happenings
<i>Christian</i>					
Males	2	2	3	1	1
Females	2				2
<i>Non Christian</i>					
Males	7	3	3	1	5
Females	1				

TABLE XVIII
Showing Abnormal Accompaniments of Conversion

¹ Excluding the revival cases quoted earlier

Some of the more striking or unusual cases may be quoted because of the side-light they throw on the general subject

M. 22 Born in a Mubammadan family, this man attended a Christian Sunday school for many years, and was very inclined to become a Christian, but was deterred by fear of his relatives. The crisis was brought about by a dream which he thus describes 'At last one night I dreamt that a man in white garments came to me and shook me by the shoulder saying, "Awake, arise!" I asked why he should do this, and he replied, "You are going to hell and if you do not escape there is no hope for you." I awoke from the dream and spent the remainder of the night in prayer when I gave myself to God.'

M. 22 was an outcaste Hindu by family, but was brought up among Muhammadans and was very confused between the two systems of religion. He studied Urdu and Arabic and was living more or less as a Muhammadan, but with a slight acquaintance with Christianity. Two dreams of a rather extraordinary character, however, decided him to become a Christian. The first of them is given here 'I dreamt that early in the morning I was standing under a tree. There was a bird on the top, it was as big as a duck, but it had a parrot's beak, the crest of a peacock, and red and white feathers. A red cloth umbrella was floating above it. While I was looking at the bird it flew down. Below the tree there was a four feet high wall and flying down to it the bird became a young man. He was fair and with black hair down his neck. He had a white robe down to his feet. He had sandals on and a stick in his hand. I was afraid when he became a man, but taking courage I asked him, "Maharaja, who are you?" He said, "Do you not know who I am?" I said, "No." He said, "I am Jesus Christ." Then I was very glad and I stretched out my hands and caught His feet. Then He fell

on my body, and with His weight I fell on the ground and then awoke, and it was a dream. It was Sunday. I thought I would pray. Till then I had never prayed. From then I believed on Christ, though I told no one at the time.

F 16 'Before conversion I felt in myself to be a sinful girl. One night I dreamt that God was giving to His people a bright shining crown, and when my turn came to receive the crown He said, "No, you are not a good girl." So at once I was awaked, and began to pray to Him to help me and cleanse my heart.'

M 33 'While I was on my knees in deep distress of soul in my bedroom, God showed me a Cross.'

M 14 'At the time of my conversion, Jesus appeared to me in a vision with wounded hands and with flowing blood and told me this is all for you. He then disappeared, and there and then I gave my heart to Him.'

M 24 'Being very uneasy in soul, I went to a lonely mountain cave where I spent three days and nights praying and fasting along with a friend of mine. In this place we were greatly influenced and we saw heavenly views. We spent the time there in perfect peace and prayer.'

M 20 'Special meetings were being held during the holiday we had at the time of the Coronation. All the school were there and at the end of one sermon all who anxious were invited to come and kneel at the altar rail. Many went up, but I did not. But where I sat in my seat I seemed to see (I do not know whether it was real or not) a rope let down as from heaven and heard a voice saying, "Take hold and be saved." Afterwards I went and talked with the preacher and received satisfaction of soul.'

M 16 'The critical point with me was one day when I went alone to a swamp to pray, being very heavy with the burden of sin. There I knelt down and gave myself to God

Immediately I heard heavenly music so real that I looked around to see whence it came, but there was nothing to be seen.'

M 19. 'At this time, a never-to be forgotten event of my Christian life took place. One morning between four and five I was particularly exercised in prayer and meditation, my heart was flooded with God's love and I felt a most gentle touch of unseen fingers on one of my cheeks, and instantly with this touch gushes of tears began to flow and my heart was completely melted. I knew at once that this was the touch of my Jesus for whom I had forsaken all.'

F. 12 'I was always indifferent to religion, but one evening a peculiar loud sound filled the room, now upstairs, now downstairs, then in the compound, now far away, now near. I was so frightened. I thought the last day had come and I would be lost. Some of my friends wept and some prayed, through terror. This peculiar noise had waked me up, and it made me feel that my days should not be wasted. It was fear at that time that led me to seek the Saviour. The noise we afterwards discovered was the syren whistle of a steamer in the river, but it had never been heard before in our town.'

THE RESULTS OF CONVERSION

Any study of conversion, however brief, must take into consideration the results in after life if it is to be of practical value, for the unique glory of conversion does not consist in having an experience to relate, but in the change that has come to the man himself. As an isolated fact, or set of facts, in consciousness the experience may be of interest to the psychologist, but we are most of us sufficiently pragmatist to ask to see it in its relations to life. 'In the absence of the heavenly quality in the life, says Coe, 'no experience of internal wonders is valid evidence of the birth from above. . . the new heart is to be defined by its quality not by its history'.¹ And the indisputable claim of Christian conversion is that it implies the reorganization of life about a new centre with consequent changes in all its relationships. 'If any man be in Christ', says Paul, 'he is a new creation, the old things have passed away, behold all things have become new'. 'We know we have passed out of death into life,' says John, 'because we love the brethren'.

The new relationships of life consequent on conversion may be divided into new feelings, new habits, new service, and along with these should be considered the continuance or otherwise of the changed attitude. The questions under section 4 in the Questionnaire were intended to elicit any facts that might throw light on these aspects of the subject.

¹ *The Religion of a Mature Mind*, pp 203-10

Change of feelings may be considered in respect to God, to Nature, and to other people, and the question that was asked suggested these. The new attitude to God, as revealed in the answers, is referred to almost entirely in terms of the new close relationship and sense of His Fatherhood.

Very few mention any change in the attitude to nature, there are less than a dozen definite allusions in all. The expressions, 'Everything seemed new to me,' 'Love towards everything in the world' come occasionally, but they seem to refer principally, if not entirely, to the human environment. To a few, however, nature did appear to be changed, as suggested in the hymn,

Heaven above is softer blue,
Earth around is sweeter green
Something lives in every hue,
Christless eyes have never seen

F. 12. 'There was more love for nature. Nature seemed beautiful. . . . On the day of my conversion, everything seemed just beautiful in a new light' F. 20 'Early next morning I looked out and the trees and flowers and sky looked so beautiful I called my mother and asked her what had happened to them. "Nothing," she replied, "but something has happened to you"' F. 16 'Everything seemed to praise God—the green leaves, the beautiful flowers, the sun, the moon, the stars, and all.'

Nature to some appeared to be an expression of God's goodness and glory. M. 19 'My feeling at the time was that there was love, love, and love all around me. That nature was full of the love of God'

M. 16. 'Everything seemed new, nature seemed the expression of God's goodness'

M. 22. 'Nature looked to me full of the glory of God.'

A new permanent attitude towards the lower creatures is found in one or two. M. 14. 'Even the little birds whose nests I destroyed before I loved, and I no longer desired to destroy them.'

M. 32 'There was a great difference in my attitude towards nature . . . I used to be rather hard on animals, but now I grew gentle and taught my children to care for the lower creatures.'

Thirty four only out of three hundred and fifty mention change of feelings towards others, apart from references to actual service undertaken. The following list shows the character of the change in feelings.—

Felt spiritual desires for all	3
„ desires to respect and serve all ...	8
„ love for all human beings ...	12
„ broader sympathy	2
„ love for Christians as brethren ...	4
„ desires for all to be saved ...	5

A larger love towards other fellow creatures generally was spoken of chiefly by non-Christians, towards fellow Christians generally by those from the Christian community. Some extracts will best indicate the nature of the replies. The first six extracts are from non-Christian converts.

M. 14. 'Persons around me appeared of more value than before—there was pleasure attached to any little act of service I could render at any time to any one—religious or other service.'

M. 23 'I began to love others and to treat them with respect'

M. 22. 'My feelings towards persons formerly was that they could not be trusted. Now I began to feel that some at least could be trusted'

M. 9. 'Now a love for others began.'

M. 19. 'An involuntary unconscious love for all human beings was created in my heart.'

M. 22. 'I also felt intense love for Christians. I loved them as my fellow-pilgrims to the new Jerusalem and my friends with whom I should rejoice in heaven through eternity.'

M. 18. 'From that time I began to get an adequate idea of my duties towards others'

F. 18. 'I learned to see the better side of people around me and had a more tolerant feeling in my relations towards them. Almost everybody became somebody worth obliging or serving.'

M. 15. 'Before conversion I disliked old men and was jealous of young men, but this changed I began to respect old people like parents and to make younger people my friends'

M. 21. 'I began to show kindness to my schoolmates and obedience to my teachers and parents'

F. 25. 'I even kissed my enemies'

M. 17. 'I felt I was brought into new relations with those around me—I felt I should love and serve every one of them'

An unusually frank acknowledgment of intense feeling issuing in censoriousness is made by M. 16 'My joy was very great and my zeal for Him unbounded. I began to criticize the actions of other boys. I hated people who lied, snuffed, smoked, used bad language and chatted on Sundays.'

A number speak of the continuance for a long time of the intense joy that so frequently accompanies conversion. In these cases it seems as if their own inner joy remained as the chief fact of experience, dwarfing all other thoughts. In a very few cases where there was no special feeling of joy at conversion there is evidence of it appearing gradually afterward.

A typical example is F. 12 'I was afraid at the time of conversion and there was no immediate consciousness of a great change; but after a while there was an increase of joy and peace in my mind' On the whole it would seem that in those cases where conversion was sudden or striking the first impressions grew less vivid as the time passed, although they were none the less genuine for that In cases where the awakening was gradual and lacking in a distinct crisis, the joy of assurance and possession increased slowly and somewhat evenly from the time when the decision to follow Christ was apparently taken

The replies to the query concerning changes of habit are not very satisfactory They are again too general in tone There is, indeed, a sense of repugnance expressed for old habits and ways in sentences such as, 'old habits underwent change,' 'I quite changed my manner of life,' 'there was a great change in my life as to sin and impurity', 'I began to be more obedient,' 'I began to pray and read my Bible more' But only occasionally is there mention of actual habits that were given up at once and for ever Five speak of smoking, four of drinking, three of sensuality, one of gambling, one of mischief, and one of open dishonesty as practices that definitely ceased at conversion Lying, acts of temper, and grumbling, too, are mentioned by a few One says (M 15) 'I used to speak bad words I was a slave to it It stopped' Another, M 18, says, 'Certain questionable practices and habits were given up' Another, M 25 'I quit smoking that day for ever, although I was a great smoker' One young man says, 'I gave up going to the bazaar for nothing,' and trading on Sunday and the attending of dancing are each mentioned by one

There is, however, far too little evidence of a distinct break with the ways of the old life, and too little taking up of new

habits, 'things that accompany salvation' as the writer to the Hebrews puts it; and this must with many be attributable to a lack of depth in the religious experience. With some it may be that the previous life was colourless anyhow, devoid of openly bad practices, and possessed rather by habits of petty meanness and mischief, by selfishness and deceit. One or two actually refer to deceit in the religious acts of their pre-conversion days. The danger is that religion is not blended sufficiently with the moral nature. It breaks out in acts, sometimes of almost superstitious zeal, and then it subsides and leaves its owner a prey to his natural disposition. It comes with fitful gusts instead of the steady trade winds that may be counted on day by day.

Relapse into sin or unfaithfulness to Christ, failure to continue in the new life, or loss of assurance of salvation are mentioned by thirty-six persons. Twelve of these were originally non-Christians and only one of them refers to conversion as 'sudden.' But with all of these, of course, the long process of drawing near was terminated by a more or less distinct crisis, when the break came with the old religion. With such the causes of relapse are many and varied. They have had a glimpse of perfection and then have returned to the imperfections and unrealities of life in themselves and in others. A sense of keen disappointment is the result, gloom and unrest appear, and these, in the metaphysical Eastern mind, are apt to be exaggerated. The following are typical instances —

M. 23. 'After my becoming a Christian troubles and difficulties came into my life which I had never before had to face. My people would have nothing at all to do with me as they said I had brought shame and dishonour upon them. This I felt most keenly for I loved my father dearly. From being well-to do and having everything I wanted I became

very poor and had to accept help and support from the missionaries. My friends threw me over. I had to contend with jealousy, bitter jealousy from Indian Christians in one case in particular which hurt me intensely and which caused me for a time to regret that I had become a Christian. If it had not been for my dear wife I am sure I would have been tempted to relapse. My former co-religionists and relatives taunted me and did all they could to pervert me offering me wealth and position.

M 19 'My experience was not always even. There was often an ebb and a flow in my new life and experience. Certainly the Christian community to which I looked up expecting great things from them was a disappointment to me.

But in spite of relapses and disappointments the new life gradually gets a firmer hold, though there is sometimes inability to regain all the ground lost. M 14 'There have been relapses and disappointments because of the power of old sins. There is sometimes a feeling of doubt as to whether there is any complete result of conversion. I have on several occasions realized a decrease in peace—a fall and rise—but I feel that the line of rhythm is going higher and steeper.'

M 21 'I had relapse and great disappointment and was on the point of going back to my own people. Joy and peace all went for a year and a half. Then I again became conscious of my condition and renewed my relationship with God.'

In not a few cases the relapse is occasioned by fear of consequences when the open confession is made. M 18. 'When I went home after the meeting at which I surrendered to Christ, I told no one of it. I was then the only surviving son of my father and he was old. I thought he would die of grief if he knew that his only son had become a Christian. I also feared that he might possibly disinherit me and if he did so, how was I to get an education? I had no courage

but I kept on reading my Bible and praying in my own room. A week later a Christian fellow student came to congratulate me on my decision to become a Christian. "I was there", he said, "in the tent of Dr P—when you rose and walked to the platform." "Who is Dr P—", said I, "I do not know him. I never attended any such meeting, nor did I do any such thing as you say."

Of the twenty four cases of relapse among Christians, twenty followed conversions that were sudden which possessed, that is, a marked crisis. Twelve of these conversions had occurred during special evangelistic services when pressure or the example of others were given as the prime motives that led to the step. This statement would naturally create the suspicion that such pressure is unwise but it must be remembered that these who suffered subsequent relapse and disappointment are only a few of those who were converted at such services. For there were forty nine cases among those of Christian families of conversion at special services, and rather less than one fourth of these acknowledge relapse.

The intense exaltation of consciousness in which the new life begins in a case of sudden and striking conversion—the supernal vision, the rapture of heart—brings its own penalty. Reaction is sure to set in, and, if there was insufficient preparation in the past, if the ground of the soul was ill-prepared for the new plant, reaction is likely to lead to disappointment and distress. The life may slip back to the old levels, temptation may reassert its sway before the soul can adjust itself to the new conditions as soon as the excitement and stimulus of the services is lost.

Comparison of these twenty four cases suggests that they may be divided into three classes: those who relapsed through moral or spiritual weakness, those who were pressed to an experience for which they were apparently unready or

ill prepared, and those whose natures craved for an emotional and enthusiastic crisis for which the earlier experience provided no opportunity. With this third class may be included a few instances in which there was no actual relapse but where a quiet and perhaps gradual awakening was followed by a period of small progress until a later occasion provided the stimulus for a really marked crisis.

The first of these classes consists chiefly of those who had been the slaves of some sin or evil habit prior to conversion, and who, for one reason or other, self confidence it may be or ignorance found themselves back in the slough again. Some typical cases may be cited.

M 26 'There were some relapses after conversion. I fell into some of the old, wretched sins that I had forsaken.

M 18 'After conversion I began to experience the following things: constant internal fighting, doubt after doubt of different sorts to shake my faith. Evil temptations which I did not like to think and see even forcibly began to come. I learnt that Satan is also something. So these things began to disappoint me, or I should say made me tired. But at the suggestion of my friends, I prayed and prayed and so in this way another kind of life began for me which was at one time joyful and at other times sorrowful and this went on for a very long while.

M 21 'But there came a great blow to me soon after my conversion and while I was trying to live wholly for others. My beloved wife was taken away. I have no words to express the sorrow I experienced at that time. Life became a horrible burden and in everything I read despair. But by and by through prayer and constantly looking to the Saviour, I regained my lost peace of mind and am now quite happy once more.'

M 16 'I was very joyful, being conscious of a great change

But Sundays were sad days with me. I thought talking to friends and laughing were sins. I read the Bible and prayed and put on a long face. I used strong language to condemn the actions of others. For this I was reproved and then I was ashamed of myself and sorry that I had decided for Christ. Recovering from this, I sat for my matriculation examination and failed. I was then angry with God, and stopped Bible reading and prayer and attending prayer meetings.'

Of the same general type is the boy who found that the new religious attitude adopted at home did not suit equally well at school. M 14. 'Soon after deciding to follow Christ I was sent away to school. I am sorry to say that I went back to my old position then.'

Those who were pressed to take a stand for Christ before they were thoroughly ready for it and those who decided to do so with hazy general ideas of vital Christianity are probably a large class of people. With two exceptions the only instances of such that are included in these records are of those who had a deeper and more inward experience later.

M. 11. 'I was "converted" at some special services where vivid descriptions were given of hell fire and the doom of the unsaved, and sinners were urged to come forward. Scores responded . . . and I among them . . .'

'My subsequent experience was anything but even. After some time I began to have doubts as to my having been savingly converted. I felt that there were sins in my life and inferred that I had not been saved. There was in consequence much doubting and fearing. I continued in this sort of "wilderness experience" for some years filled—with uncertainty as to were I exactly was.'

F 16 'Often in "Revival Meeting" I gave myself to Christ and He helped me, but after some days I would

wander away from Him again I heard many beautiful appeals, and often my heart broke and I knew myself to be a sinner'

The writer was talking one day to a group of five young men on the subject of conversion and discovered that they had all gone through a religious experience and had all had disappointment following it. Each of them had been to special gatherings, one to a Y M C A camp, two to (different) student camps, one to a series of meetings held in his Church, and the fifth to a series held in his school. All of them had been confirmed previously, and all agreed that the rite had meant nothing spiritually to them. 'It was literary rather than spiritual,' said one, 'I had to learn and understand certain things. It was a custom. They all agreed that they could recall no definite spiritual influence in the regular services of their Church, and that none of them had had any expectations aroused of a definite experience in decision for Christ. Each of them was deeply impressed at the special meetings attended. 'The preacher greatly impressed me,' 'I was deeply stirred by the addresses I heard at the camp,' they said. Each at the time took a decided stand. One of them had two subsequent experiences and is uncertain which of them to look upon as his conversion. Another believed then, and with some ups and downs has trusted Christ since. The third says, 'I was seventeen then and an address on Sacrifice deeply stirred me and led me to give myself to Christ. I felt satisfied and that was all.' The fourth and fifth are distinctly cases of relapse. One, who was at that time eighteen years of age, says, 'The last night at the students' camp was a time of great excitement. I think every one came under it. I was in an ecstasy. I was urged to be wholly for Christ. This joy lasted one and a half years and then gradually faded. I am not very sure of myself now.'

The other, who was nineteen at the time, says 'The idea of consecration was urged. It was the theme of the addresses, and on every one's lips I believed myself truly consecrated them. But after a few weeks my sense of this faded away and I do not now feel any better for it' They are all intelligent and earnest men of the student class, but only one of them could really say that the work done was permanent.

The third class has many variations of type, of which it is not easy to select instances that are satisfactory and yet sufficiently brief and condensed for the purpose. The second experience may be but the fulfilment or completion, as it were, of an earlier, immature crisis.

M. 18. 'At the age of eighteen I decided to serve Jesus, Christ, but at the age of twenty three I got a new and strong impulse which strengthened my first determination and which has kept me in that line ever since.' It may be that until the later experience the soul never found the Saviour as a *personal* Helper.

F. 16. 'My conversion was at sixteen while I was at school. I attended some special services. . . . But it seems to me that my real change of heart came later when I was twenty-four years of age, and had been married seven years. My second son was five years old, and he was taken with the plague and died in twenty four hours. Although I was bowed down with sorrow, yet a strong conviction brought peace to my heart and it was this—that God had allowed this for my good. Then my love went out to Him as never before. Since that time there has been a settled peace and joy in my life.'

Or the first crisis may have failed to fuse the whole moral nature and to lift it to the height of lasting satisfaction F. 14. 'I think I was converted gradually, but I was helped to come

to a decision for Christ by the lady missionary with whom I lived as a girl. But once, ten years later, in the convention at S—I had a strange experience. I was in a meeting that was heart searching, and people were confessing their sins in prayers with weeping and screaming. The meeting lasted for hours and it was about midnight when I began to pray, and I remember I completely broke down. I screamed also though I did not want to. I shook all over. I left the meeting after a little and went to bed. I shook there also and got but little sleep. This experience does not seem to be much in words, but it has been very sacred to me, so much so that I have very seldom mentioned it. I was very happy and peaceful after this experience. Christ seemed near to me and I felt like singing and praising Him all the time.

Service for others should be the natural result of true conversion of heart to Jesus Christ. The question of questions with most people concerning any case of conversion is 'What difference does it make in the man—what is it good for?' And the test of utility is perfectly valid and sound. It agrees well with the New Testament. 'I have appeared unto thee for this purpose to make thee a minister, are the words in which Paul tells of his conversion. 'The value of conversion says George Jackson, 'depends not on how it happens but on what it effects. 'Religion must be judged,' says Professor James, 'by its uses to the individual, and by its uses to the world.'

The question, therefore, was included in the Questionnaire, *Did you feel an immediate impulse towards Christian service? What service did you undertake?* The following table analyses the affirmative replies received —

			Percent age of total number that replied in the affir- mative	Preach- ing	Children's work	Indi- vidual work	General Service
<i>Christian</i>							
Males	...	...	33	16	14	13	8
Females	...	...	64	9	5	5	9
<i>Non Christian</i>							
Males	..	...	28	21	1	11	8
Females	...	...	45	1	1	1	...
Totals			35	47	21	30	25

TABLE XIX

Showing character of Service undertaken

Thus rather less than one third answered the question in the affirmative. These replies reveal on the whole a comparatively weak impulse to service arising immediately out of the new life. An ideal of voluntary Christian service was evidently absent with the great majority and reflects directly upon the teaching received by them prior to the crisis. 'I felt no immediate impulse to Christian service' is a frequent reply. A young convert from Hinduism says, 'Not at first, for it was not urged by any one.' Even where service was immediately undertaken it was not necessarily from an inward impulse. M. 15. 'I did not feel any immediate impulse to

Christian service, but I was thrown into Sunday school work directly' That is probably more frequently true than appears in the replies It is possible that some understood the question to refer to Christian service *as a profession* as in the case of M 21. 'No, I had at first strong hatred for Christian service'

Occasionally there was the desire for service but no opportunity offered, or the prejudice of others barred the way M 24 'Wanted to, but saw no way for a time' F 16 'I wanted to go as a missionary to our Church field but my parents would not consent' Some were in work already at the time of conversion M 32 'I was in Christian work already, but only as a hireling I began to serve the Lord with joy I ceased to please man, but did everything for the glory of my dear Lord' M 18 'When I returned home I began to take a better interest in Sunday school, daily Bible teaching, help in the bazaar preaching' M 25 'Same work, new spirit'

A few of the responses made to the question reveal a genuine awakening of missionary zeal The old selfish and narrow outlook was gone and the truth broke upon the heart that Christ is Lord of all F 16 'As soon as I was converted I had a keen desire to do some kind of service for Jesus, but I did not have any opportunity at once But afterwards I was given the chance of teaching in the Sunday school the girls who were reading in the high school I was not satisfied with this service and I wanted to have a Sunday school class at my home with the heathen boys So I have arranged for this' M 20 'My mind was entirely given up to serve Christ'

With many, and more especially with those who had reached manhood or womanhood at conversion, the special form of service undertaken was that of preaching, either in the regular Church services or in the villages around

M—' The spirit of God so possessed me that I felt my whole being was permeated with burning coals of fire. With it all there came a burning desire to tell others who were untouched by Him of Jesus my Saviour. F 25 I wanted to tell everybody about Christ and when I went to my father-in-law's house I had all the people come together and I told my experience to them. My father-in-law was baptized after that.' M 26 'I had a desire to testify as to what Jesus had done in me. I volunteered to go with the preachers or alone to tell of Him.'

M 30 'I commenced voluntarily to preach the Gospel in the villages far and near.'

M 17 'I undertook immediately open air work and personal conversation with anybody I came across anywhere.'

M 14 'At that time I immediately decided to serve Christ as a preacher. My friends and I went to the home of heathens and had prayer meetings. M—' The day after my conversion I lay on my bed wondering how the Gospel of Jesus Christ could best be presented to the Muhammadans of India.'

One who has been a pastor now for years felt his call to this work at the age of ten when he gave his heart to the Lord, though up to that time he had been a Hindu.'

The need for helpers in work among children especially in the Sunday school, is constant and it is natural that many felt this to be the opening before them. And these were chiefly younger people.

M 15 'After conversion I felt an attraction for little children. Before conversion I used to go out into the villages with others and I tried to find out the big people to talk to about Jesus Christ. But now I chose children and tried to teach them about the Lord.'

M 15 'Began at once working among children which is my life work.'

M. 20. 'Felt an immediate impulse to preach the Word of God to the children—I had a desire to appeal to the rising generation.'

M. 13. 'There was an impulse to work among boys.'

M. 18. 'I at once offered to teach a Sunday school for Hindus.'

M. 11. 'I began at once to teach in a village Sunday school.'

M. 10. 'I at once joined the C.E. Society and took part in its activities.'

F. 16 'The only service I could undertake was to teach in a Sunday school some boys who worked at a mill, and to start a prayer meeting in the hostel where I was staying.'

F. 15 'I was not able at the time to do anything outside my home, but I used to tell to the children near by good Bible stories which my mother had told me.'

The remaining replies tell of various sorts of work undertaken, rather more private and personal in character than those already mentioned 'Wanted to be good and useful to others,' says one and a similar desire found many outlets according to the circumstances and opportunities of each. A very little boy, converted at seven, found his chance in 'helping the singing in the open-air meetings.' A girl of fourteen set to work to win her own brother and sister and was successful. A girl of nine was ready to help every one who needed her help.

With some it was personal work among school-fellows. M. 18. 'I felt the necessity of telling every one to lead a clean life, and I would be eager to speak of Christ. This is the only form of service I have undertaken for Christ hitherto beyond praying for many people.'

* M. 16. 'Christian service was the motive of my conversion and I began at once by giving advice to my comrades,

taking part in prayer meetings, street preaching, helping the sick and by being ready to do any little service I could to my enemies.'

A converted Hindu published a tract on the day of his baptism entitled, 'On Caste', which he widely disseminated. Others also speak of tract distribution. A convert from Hinduism of eighteen years of age immediately resigned his position as a teacher in a high-grade Hindu school because the authorities would not allow him to tell the boys of Christ. M. 21 immediately resigned a government position and took up medical work. M. 28 wanted to preach at once, but feeling himself incompetent to preach in the Church started on personal individual work in the congregation. M. 18 says, 'The idea of service took possession of me, and with others of like mind a small band was formed which carried on a useful work for many years in the large city where we were at school. Prayer meetings, too, for mutual help, and intercessory prayer and personal work' F. 18 tells of various ways that opened to her. 'When I was converted I wanted to talk about Jesus to others. I taught the heathen children and told them Bible stories in the evenings. I gave my Bible to them to read. When the heathen women came to our house I told them some Bible story and sang some hymns. When I found any in difficulty or in great sorrow I told them Bible stories suitable for their hearts and prayed with them.'

CONCLUSION

Two facts emerge with distinctness when we attempt to sum up what has been considered in the preceding pages. The first is that there is no apparent reason in the nature of things why conversion should fail to be as thorough and radical an experience in the East as in the West. The grace of God that bringeth salvation, the power of Christ to redeem from sin, and the deep, inner work of the Holy Spirit on the heart are as free in their action in India as in Europe or America. That, of course, all recognize. And neither is there anything in the constitution of the Indian mind and nature itself which prevents the great initial experience of the life of faith being of similar character to that known in other lands.

Heredity may be said to be against the Indian. But grace is mightier than heredity; it has been seen a myriad times over. The divorce between morality and religion, between ethics and rites, is not eternal, and though it has been sanctioned by existing religious systems for millenniums and though it is imprinted deeply in the grain, it dissolves before the work of the Holy Ghost and the threads woven by centuries may be broken in an hour.

The social or gregarious nature and customs of the Indian may be urged, that he is not used to moving alone, that long habit has bound him to lines of thinking and action that make a sudden and striking conversion unlikely in the great majority of cases. But the argument falls to pieces before the facts, for the splendid cases of conversion recorded here are not only those of fine souls who seemed to have a strain of granite within them or with natures particularly susceptible to the appeals of the Spirit. There are among those records some

which might fitly be compared with those of our great Western mystics, but alongside them are the experiences of a host of men and women who have caught the vision glorious while in the midst of mundane affairs, immersed in the ordinary cares and toils of life

It may be thought that the emotional nature of the Indian is against the expectation of a deep, permanent change at the time of decision for Christ. But there is no conclusive evidence of this. It is true that the average Indian responds more quickly to spiritual appeals than does the average Westerner, and that the glow fades sooner. But there appears to exist within him, as it were, a double stratum of emotion, the upper easily reached and shallow too shallow to permanently affect the depths of motive and aspiration, the other, dormant it may be with many, hidden beneath a hard shell, but not beyond the reach of the faithful, persistent and skilful worker. When that is touched there springs from it a flame of devotion that is peculiarly fierce, before which the whole moral nature is fused and unified in the light of a dominating purpose. Renunciation is then easy, sacrifice is welcomed, and heights of spiritual zeal are possible that are unsurpassed in the religious records of any land or age.

The second fact that emerges from the study has already been alluded to in the opening section. It is that conversion, in the full sense of the term, is comparatively rare in India, and that when it occurs it does not, in many cases, mean as much as it should. The difficulty that is experienced in securing conversion records at all, and the further difficulty in discovering in them details of definite value are evidences of this. In many centres though there were serious and thoughtful persons in the congregation these were none who were able readily to give an account of their religious development that would be of use to the student of the subject.

Grant these two facts and the enquiry naturally arises whether the analyses made contain indications of lines to be followed in the religious nurture of the young people under our care in the missions of India.

The first group of facts upon which the imagination seizes is that which includes the forces and motives that lead to conversion. Foremost among these are those agencies of Home, School and Church which have definitely to do with Christian nurture of the young. Our systems of Christian teaching, direct and indirect, need to be better, more thorough, more sound, so far as the needs of the young life are concerned. There must be more positive work done of the kind that creates ideals of holiness and service and obedience to God. The average Indian child has little or no material with which to build up a conception of a rounded and robust Christian life. Fervent appeals to accept Christ are often valueless because the soul has been starved. Memory verses on holiness have little effect if the youth has no clear idea of what sort a holy man ought to be and if he has not seen such a man portrayed in a fashion that captivates his own imagination. True religious education appeals to both head and heart. If the head alone is considered, the scholar may become alert and intelligent, but the soul is unresponsive. If the heart alone is addressed, the response is a fitful impulse; and true affection cannot survive apart from reason. Faith in the full Christian sense of the term brings both into play, and needs both.

Truth must be presented to the young mind in the concrete if it is to be effectual in the awakening and cultivation of motive and ideal.¹ There is practically no dissentient voice

¹ This subject has been dealt with in the book recently published *Natural Method of Bible Teaching for India* where see chapter on the Educational Value of the Story.

on this matter among experts to day And a reference to Table V¹ will show the testimony on the point from the records studied in this volume

The building up of a true and wholesome conception of what it means to be a *Christian* is a work that demands care, wisdom and perseverance Until some such ideal is begotten in the child, undue emphasis on the need of fleeing from sin and the horrors of punishment is apt to produce a shallow and partial response, and even when successful is likely to issue in a Christian life that is defective in the nobler and stronger elements True religion that is to say, cannot be transplanted into the young heart it must be sown and strike its own original roots The syllabus of Bible teaching must be arranged with that in view so that the great elements of godly living shall be imbibed by the scholar and welcomed by him

Take a single example Every thoughtful Indian will acknowledge that there is a predisposition among his people to demand mercy irrespective of justice He sees that justice demands action but fails to see that it is for the good of the recipient, and therefore he demurs at the justice and begs off It is *his son* or *his friend* or *his fellow worker* and therefore he expects excessive mercy instead of reasonable justice This is human but it is not divine and it is not Christian It is founded on an inadequate idea of the seriousness of sin and of the remedial nature of true discipline It indicates a lack of the steel that should exist in the Christian character This steel can only be truly supplied during those days when the mole of thinking is being determined when ideals are forming and habits are in the making And even then it can only come through the picturing of kindly justice in the concrete

life in such a way that the hearers will learn to recognize and admire it.

There is room for so many degrees of success and so many varieties of failure in our religious teaching, and we must earnestly contend for the methods that will give the child the best chance of feeling the call of Christ and that will give the Holy Spirit the largest ground for appeal in the child. The religious education of the young in past days may have had in it an overplus of the element of doctrine, and certainly in some cases it consisted chiefly of the memorization of doctrinal statements. The present trend is to insist perhaps almost exclusively on the ethical and ideal-forming elements that are of such great importance to the opening mind of the child. But there are perils in both directions. It must be an education in religion and morals. Our teaching must not be denuded of Christian doctrine, for nothing can make up for the lack of definite instruction during early days in the great facts revealed in the Bible. Depth of conviction is what is aimed for and not vague and thin Christian sentiment. But in imparting these central truths of the Christian revelation, due regard must be had to the child's nature and powers, and these truths must be taught in such a way that they will find a welcome in the heart.

Above all the presentation of Christ must be effective. There should be nothing weak about this if we are to expect an enthusiastic response to his claims. He is the 'chiefest among Ten Thousand' and the 'Altogether Lovely', but He should be made to appear so in the eyes of the scholars. He must be something more than a shadowy figure like the mythical heroes of Hinduism. He must stand for more than a doctrine. He should be seen by the young in our schools in all the grandeur of His unique manhood—the sympathetic and kindly one, the Lover of children and of the needy, but

also, as our scholars reach adolescence, as the Master of men, the Leader, the Lord. There should be a fair portrayal of His manliness, His daring, His invincible courage, His buoyant enthusiasm, His stainless purity and His devotion to His Father's will, culminating in the great vicarious sacrifice of Calvary. All His glory as revealed in the objective facts of the Gospels should be made to pass before the young soul, and we may count upon it that the charm of His supernal Personality will appeal to them beyond our expectations. The natural order with many in India, as with the disciples, is through the perfect Humanity of Jesus Christ to His Deity and Lordship. So many have testified to this. 'I was a mere lad when I was drawn to a Christian Sunday School', to quote again the words of one brought up in a Muhammadan home. 'From the beginning of my acquaintance with the life of Christ, He became a living reality to my soul: the more I studied the New Testament, the more I became absorbed with the transcendent character of Christ. As He captured my heart and admiration for all that is holy, I made up my mind to embrace Christianity.'

There is no fact more certain than that a vision of the loveliness and purity and sacrifice of Christ is necessary to a deep and abiding sense of sin, especially in a land where ideals of holiness and standards of sinfulness are so confused and misleading. And if the attitude towards Him is to be of the type we aim at, there needs to be such a conception of His character and Person as will ensure to Him the highest place in the admiration and regard of those we teach. 'Whenever the Christian Church, or a section of it, or a single Christian,' says Dr Glover, 'has put upon Jesus Christ all the emphasis, there has been an increase in power, in influence, in grip, in appeal, in energy, in victory. But where whether through a nebulous philosophy, or through

service in the hearts of our young people. Few of them, at least under sixteen years of age, are able to avail themselves of the increasing wealth of Western books. And even then such books are not prepared with the Indian child and his special needs in view. The work done by Tract Societies in this line during recent years, and by the Christian Literature Society in particular, is excellent, but there is still so little to help outside the direct Bible Lesson. A thoughtful study of the Heroes given in the replies to the Questionnaire reveals a great deal in this direction. One girl who gave 'George Washington' added as her reason, 'There was a good story of him in our Reader'. The avidity with which such fragments are seized upon is nothing less than pathetic.

Are there not more persons, qualified for the task, who will prepare, in English for translation, if not directly in the vernacular, biographies suitable for Indian youth, similar to those now being produced in Britain and America, biographies that shall minister to the hero hunger and supply material for the reinforcement of the growing ideal? Thrilling biographies of Bible characters, of great missionaries and Christian leaders in other parts of the world, of great men of any land, and especially of some of the finer products of Christianity in India and the East should be within the reach of our boys and girls. The books need not be too brief, and should not be polemical or directly apologetic, but ought to attempt the fair presentation of attractive and strong lives, written from the standpoint of the young.

Conversion to be thorough in its sweep and a real revolution in attitude and experience demands a deep sense of sin. Starbuck laid it down as a law that conversion is a process of struggling away from sin rather than of striving after righteousness. And even when the converts have been the recipients of careful and godly training the entry into the new

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be a genuine sense of wonder at the miracle of our own salvation, issuing in joyous gratitude to the Lord. Only then shall we be able without a trace of affectation to speak of our selves as sinners saved by grace.

The corollary of this is, of course, that we need better teachers. The Bible teaching is evangelism, though it is educational evangelism, and therefore a personal Christian experience is the first qualification of a Bible teacher. The Word has a new force when I can tell from personal testimony what it accomplishes, when out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. I must illustrate the grace of Christ even as I teach it and when I relate what my redeeming Lord does for me, I am telling a story to His praise which none but myself can tell. The Holy Spirit works through the agency of those whose own hearts He has touched and renewed. The experience of some who replied to the Questionnaire is far from satisfactory in this connection. 'The Scripture hour', says one, 'I dreaded most. Perhaps it was because my teachers never wasted any love on me.' A young

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life is frequently attended by great consciousness of sin. Now one of the results of the Questionnaire has been to reveal a considerable weakness on this point. And those who are most closely acquainted with the problems of Christianity in India to day will agree that this is characteristic and not accidental. There is a sense of sin, but it is slight; there is a fear of death and hell, a fear that is not only the product of a certain type of preaching, but it is too easily allayed. What we have to contend with is the remnant of that old Hindu unwillingness to make a direct cleavage between the right and the wrong, the ancient lack of interest in the moral question as distinguished from the ceremonial or the speculative. The gods of Hinduism were not moral beings, Hinduism is not essentially an ethical religion. The monism of the past created deities who included within themselves the evil as well as the good and were thus indifferent to both, and in Hindu philosophy the fundamental evil from which deliverance must be sought is not sin but individual existence.

The remedy for this will be found somewhat in more faithful preaching, but to a much larger extent in better teaching. It lies within the scope of the teacher to awaken the true sense of imperfection and sin by building up a more satisfactory ideal of holiness and truth within the child's heart. It is a mistake to imagine that anyone can recognize that he is in a valley by living in the valley. It is only when he climbs the mountains in company with some Greatheart that he can secure the true perspective.

The meaning of our Lord's death will never be truly grasped until sin is real to us. Calvary is a measure of God's love, but its deep significance comes from the dark background of man's sin over against which it stands. And in a Christian experience that is fully satisfying there will always

be a genuine sense of wonder at the miracle of our own salvation, issuing in joyous gratitude to the Lord. Only then shall we be able without a trace of affectation to speak of our selves as sinners saved by grace.

The corollary of this is, of course, that we need better teachers. The Bible teaching is evangelism, though it is educational evangelism, and therefore a personal Christian experience is the first qualification of a Bible teacher. The Word has a new force when I can tell from personal testimony what it accomplishes, when not of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. I must illustrate the grace of Christ even as I teach it, and when I relate what my redeeming Lord does for me, I am telling a story to His praise which none but myself can tell. The Holy Spirit works through the agency of those whose own hearts He has touched and renewed. The experience of some who replied to the Questionnaire is far from satisfactory in this connection. 'The Scripture hour', says one, 'I dreaded most. Perhaps it was because my teachers never wasted any love on me.' A young woman says, 'I attended Sunday School classes, but I did not get any help concerning religion from them.' Another says that she used to lose her temper as a girl, even in class, but she does not remember that any of her teachers showed her it was a sin. It was only when she reached the age of sixteen, after seven or eight years of teaching, that she was told by a lady missionary for the first time what salvation meant. A most earnest schoolmaster says that general exhortations were frequently given in class to all the boys and impressed him somewhat, but no one spoke to him privately. If they had done so he would gladly have accepted Christ, as he wanted for years to be a true Christian. In contradistinction to these is the testimony of a Brahmin convert who says, 'The earnestness of my Bible teacher

made me accept his teaching about Christ's redeeming love without any questionings *

Apart from the matter of personal help for his own spiritual life the teacher requires definite training if the teaching is to be done better. He should at least have some guidance, however simple, in the principles and methods of religious education. So much depends upon it. He will be to many the only minister of religion they will ever have, and his opportunity is great. The problem of the training of religious teachers for this work, the heart and centre of all their work, the heart indeed of the whole missionary enterprise, should be faced resolutely.

Teachers of all kinds should especially have instruction in the meaning of conversion, and they should understand very clearly the significance of each period of the child's life *in this connection*. They ought to be able to appreciate the close relation of the earlier and simpler lessons to the later and more developed teaching, so that at each step of the way they shall realize the reasons for the methods used and the great importance of thorough work.

To study Conversion is to be thoroughly optimistic concerning

concerning Him grow, modify, enlarge and clarify while the process of drawing near continues, but the crisis itself involves the definite turning to Him and the blending of one's whole being, mind, heart and will with His mind, heart and will

Conversion when it is sudden and striking in its final crisis possesses added value. There is then apt to be a cleaner cut with the past and a good start for the new life, a humbling consciousness of the direct working of God out of which a lively sense of gratitude easily springs. It has a value, too, for the Church, for faith is strengthened when it is permitted to see new evidences of the Lord's operation in the lives of men.

The expectancy, throughout all his work, of sudden conversion should never be lost by preacher or teacher. He is poorer, far poorer without it. For whether it be with little children, with youth and maidens in the glow of new-born aspirations or with grown-up folk who have tasted more deeply of the bitterness of sin, he never knows when a soul may find its Saviour. The work is more thrilling and of far deeper interest when to quote a well-known writer,¹ the worker has an 'impassioned confidence that the soul may in one grand moment spring sheer out of any depth of shame or subtle bondage, and leap to the breast of God.

A century ago, a half-century ago the great spiritual revivals kept men on the tiptoe of expectation of a marked change in those to whom they preached or whom they taught. In these days there is a tendency to settle down rather into a state of uncertainty as to whether we ought to look for a spiritual crisis that is striking, except in the cases of a few heroic souls. This is surely unworthy of our Gospel and of

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To study Conversion is to be thoroughly optimistic concerning it despite the occasional failures. It may differ widely in its appearance in different cases. It may be the emergence from a smaller limited sphere of existence into a larger world or it may be the surrender of the personal will to God. The principal feature of it may be the deliverance from the sense of guilt or from the power of old habit, or it may be the joyful assurance of divine favour. The sense of incompleteness may be predominant or the sense of sin. It may even appear to be a spontaneous 'illumination', to quote the word used by the writer to the Hebrews. But its secret is that of personal union with the living Christ. Whatever else varies that is constant in all cases of true conversion. Ideas

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our Lord We need to live in an atmosphere where spiritual wonders are regarded as natural and normal

Conversion is usually the fruit of wise and spiritual education This is not, however, in opposition to the fact that there is a mysterious and miraculous side to the great event For it is in no sense a mechanical process so much teaching given, such methods used, and then as a matter of course, such results obtained All we can do is to give those whom we teach, and the young especially, the best material in the best way, and thus co operate with the unseen but mighty Spirit of God For the mystery of conversion remains Our Lord spoke of it when He said, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth so is every one that is born of the Spirit The wind seems so unmethodical and irresponsible in its blowing here it tears up a tree by its roots and there a hundred yards away, is no sign of its force So with souls, too there is evidence of the sovereign will of God A man here is torn by the mighty wind of the Spirit from the roots of an ancient religion while his friend by his side is unmoved We may explain much of it by heredity, by environment, by teaching, by hidden habit, by attitude of mind but there is still enough mystery left to make us walk discreetly and humbly when we speak of these things The acknowledgment, however, of the supernatural nature of conversion does not lessen our responsibility for the training of the teachers For their equipment for the task they demand from us the fullest knowledge of the subject we can give them and of the best methods of attaining success

The testimony of these records regarding the usefulness of special services for bringing about satisfactory religious experiences may be summed up in a few words Student and other 'Camps' where special speakers are imported and

where special conditions of life obtain which are favourable to religious impression are of great value, and should be attempted much more widely and more frequently than has been the case heretofore. Series of meetings, too, in Church or School conducted by men of the right qualities of heart and head are not only most useful but necessary to bring latent desires to fruition and to focus on to the point of decision the growing convictions of youth. But all such campaigns depend largely for their success upon the work previously done. There is always a danger in the emotionalism and excitement of religious revivals. While there are some who are ripe for an appeal of unusual strength, there are others who are not ready for it, and with them it is apt to induce a state of mere feeling which passes and leaves no spiritual residuum. In some cases it may even drive people to conduct that they regret when the tension relaxes, and they may come to suspect the whole of religion. The natural conclusion is not to forego the times of concentrated religious appeal, but to prepare the way for them by work of the most thorough character possible. Remembering the susceptibility of the Indian mind to emotional appeals and the readiness to divorce the ceremonial from the moral the Christian Church must be as *patient* to teach as she is eager to evangelize. In all extraordinary efforts, violent excess is to be deprecated, and not to be looked upon as a manifestation of the work of the Spirit though it be done in the name of religion. Nor should special campaigns be too frequent or too protracted, chronic religious excitement is destructive of the higher life.

Great care evidently needs to be observed that clear and complete views of religion be given on such occasions, that, on the one hand, the addresses are not simply exciting appeals, nor on the other that they deal exclusively with one phase of

Christian life It is not safe to count upon the hearers understanding fully what is implied in such terms as 'Come to Christ', 'Yield', 'Trust' There is need every time for a comprehensive presentation of the method and meaning of salvation the significance of sin, and the glory of union with Christ Insistence upon one aspect to the exclusion of others is likely to cause disappointment. The case of a student already quoted will bear repeating in this connection 'When I was nineteen', he says, 'I went to a camp meeting and the idea of consecration was urged It was the theme of the addresses and on every one's lips I believed myself truly consecrated then But after a few weeks my sense of this faded and I do not now feel any better for it'

Follow up work is essential especially where series of meetings have been held for young people The harvest following the labour of years is too precious to be lost, the new born impulses and resolves too valuable to be neglected Service should be found for all converts Nothing will tend so surely to fix the new impressions, to deepen the awakened desires, to rivet the soul to Christ as the entry into His service and sharing with Him to some extent, however small it be the labour of saving others If in earlier teaching the ideal of Christian service was fairly presented to the child as an essential part of Christian life, a readiness for service may now be counted upon The easiest and most likely work and that nearest to hand will in the majority of cases be found in the Sunday School which might well become the workshop of the Church The telling of Bible stories to classes of little children if accompanied by systematic training in method, is not only a task within the powers of the newest convert but it is the very best step into regular Christian service

Reference must be made again to the evident confusion in

the minds of many regarding the rites and ceremonies of the various branches of the Church Confirmation, baptism, reception into Church membership have been of great value to numbers of people But they may easily become a snare There is a natural readiness in human nature to place reliance in something outward and visible to the detriment of the inward reality, and this danger is certainly not less in India than in other lands For the sake of robust and virile life in our Christian community then, the plea is urged for greater care in this matter It is made on the evidence of the replies dealt with earlier and these, it is to be remembered, are to some extent from the pick of our Christian congregations

The real object of Christian Missions in India, as all agree, is not the continuation of Western denominational peculiarities, but the bringing of India into a real and living relationship with her Lord and Master To lead each one to Christ, right up to Christ, all the way to Christ, content that they are safe in His keeping and control, that is our aim Whatever of ceremony or doctrine might bid the Lord from the soul or take His place must be guarded, nothing must rob the soul of the right to go direct to the Master Anything that would tend to make religion outward and over elaborate, that old pit into which India has fallen a thousand times already, must be watched with unceasing vigilance, and if necessary be swept away in the interests of Christ and His Church

The great truth to be insisted upon is that each human soul, in India as in other lands, has a natural affinity for God and that an immediate and personal relationship between the two is possible The claim of Christianity and the missionary enterprise, therefore, is that every one, however low and degraded and ignorant, is capable of a living union with Christ, of a personal experience of His saving power that will be a life long dynamic And the aim of the Church of God in

India is the evoking of this spontaneous and personal response to the Saviour, so that with the voice of a great multitude of individual souls the Indian Church will be able truly to cry, 'Unto Him Who hath loved us and hath loosed us from our sins in His own blood, to Him be glory and honour, world without end, Amen.'

Appendix I

The *questionnaire* which has supplied the most important body of results used in the volume is as follows —

- I (a) Age, sex, occupation, nation (such as Tamil, etc) denomination (Baptist, etc).
- (b) What kind of home were you brought up in Christian, Hindu, Muhammadan, Buddhist ?
- (c) Were you educated in a Mission School ? If so, from what age to what age ?
- II (a) Do you recall who was your chief hero (or heroine) in either sacred or secular history during the years preceding conversion ?
- (b) What in Christ's Life or Person most attracted you at that time—His purity, love, death, teachings, leadership, saving power, or some other aspect of His life or work ?
- (c) What were the chief temptations of those years—lying, dishonesty, disobedience, temper, laziness, sensuality, bad companionship, or any other ?
- (d) Were you conscious of sinfulness before conversion ? Were you ever weighed down with it ? Did you suffer from depression, loss of sleep or appetite because of it ? Did you consciously resist God's Holy Spirit ?
- (e) Were you sensible of a desire for holiness, for forgiveness, for salvation before conversion ? Describe these and tell how long before conversion.
- (f) Were you in the habit of praying before conversion ? Did you believe yourself a true Christian before that time ?
- (g) What exerted the *greatest religious influence* upon you in that period ?

Appendix II

ANALYSIS OF THE RECORDS

There are 317 replies to the Questionnaire and fifty four cases of published Indian autobiography dealt with in this volume. They are drawn from every part of the Indian Empire and Ceylon and are thus distributed according to nationality —

	Christian		Non Christian			Christian		Non Christian	
	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F
Karen	68	2	26		Gujerati	4		4	1
Telugu	21	3	6	2	Rajput	3	1	1	
Tamil	17	5	16	1	Kanarese	5	1	4	
Bengali			20		Sikh	1		3	
Malabari	14	3	8	4	Ooriza	1		3	
Sinhalese	4	8	5		Maline	1	1		
Hindustani	4	7	6	1	Parsi			2	
Malayali	11		1		Afghan			2	1
Burmese	4	6	1		Shan			1	2
Hindi	8	1	5		Gurkha			1	
Punjabi	5	4	11	1	Taungthu			1	

They are from most of the leading denominations —

	Christian		Non Christian			Christian		Non Christian	
	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F
Baptist	105	16	39	4	Lutheran	9		2	
Anglican	22	10	25	3	Dunkard	4		3	1
Presbyterian	12	6	27	2	Disciples		1	4	
Congregational	16	2	14	1	Syrian	3			
Methodist	8	7	8		Church of God			1	
Friends	10		3	1	Uncertain			1	1

They are mostly engaged in religious duties, either as preachers or teachers. This is easily accounted for. - The Missions and Churches are so greatly in need of workers that most of the earoest men and women still find a vocation in their service. And then it is still very difficult for a Christian to enter into and engage in many of the ordinary professions and trades of the land. Again, in many cases, the old trade was abandoned at conversion and Mission service undertaken. The actual numbers are

	Christian		Non-Christian		Christian		Non-Christian	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Ministers			33					
Preachers	29		18					
Assistant Missionaries	1		2					
Head Masters and Mistresses	5	4	6					
Teachers	28	20	11	2				
Theolog. Professors	4		3					
Theolog. Students	96		25					
Secretaries of Missions	2							
S.S. & C.E. Secretaries	2							
Fakir, Colporteur	1		1					
Biblewomen		3		2				
No Trade			1					
Farmers			5					
Doctors					3	2	1	2
Nurses								
Apothecaries								
Judges, Lawyers		2					3	
Editors, and Clerks		4					2	
Government Servants		1					4	
Merchants							2	
Artisans		3					3	
Coolies							2	
Wives and Matrons							6	
Dhoby								1
Students		5					7	2
Servants		1					1	
Gymnastic Master								1
Rice Broker								1

Other records used in the second part of the volume are as they occur.

It is much regretted by the author that the distribution of domination and nation is not more even, but strenuous efforts were made to secure records from all communities, and the success in some was less than in others. It may be that in any later edition, if such is called for, the records may be considerably increased.